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Intergenerational practice and social change:
exploring social representations in text, talk and
action

Katie Wright-Bevans

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1.1 SUBMISSION OF THESIS FOR A RESEARCH DEGREE

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Research Institute **Natural Sciences**

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Abstract

Intergenerational practice (IP) is an increasingly popular community development tool which brings younger and older people together to participate in mutually beneficial activities. It aims to reduce negative attitudes and promote community cohesion.

Previous research has examined the benefits of IP though much of this has focused on its potential to increase positive attitudes (and other individual level outcomes). In doing so, previous research has neglected broader social issues, the social nature of social change and the broader community and societal context within which IP takes place. As a result little was known about how IP works and its capacity for micro, meso and macro level social change.

Within a social constructionist frame, this thesis argued that to understand the relationship between IP and social change, the role of different social agents in its production needed to be explored more critically. Social representations theory and mixed qualitative methods were used to explore how different social representations were engaged with, circulated or resisted in text, talk and action. Three studies examined practice guidelines, community facilitators and an intergenerational initiative. The latter study adopted an action research framework and aimed to both promote positive social change as well as explore the nature of this change. Mixed traditional and creative qualitative data were collected and analysed through thematic analysis.

Findings revealed two competing systems of knowledge underpinned by themata individualism/collectivism and us/them. On the one hand, IP was characterised as an intervention targeted at problem individuals. On the other hand, IP was understood as a tool for collective action towards wider social issues. Between the push and pull of these systems of knowledge, IP was actualised in a middle ground, as a community mobilisation tool with the potential to foster community cohesion through the empowerment of older and younger people.

Contents

1	INTRODUCTION	1
1.1	Chapter overview	1
1.2	The problem addressed in this thesis	1
1.3	Older people	2
1.4	Younger people	6
1.5	The development of intergenerational practice	9
1.6	Definitions and concepts	13
1.7	Aims and research questions	15
1.8	Structure of the thesis	15
2	INTERGENERATIONAL PRACTICE: A REVIEW OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL LITERATURE	18
2.1	Chapter overview	18
2.2	Scope and structure of the review	19
2.3	Intergenerational practice and contact theory: contribution and limitations	19
2.4	Beyond contact and attitude change: psycho-social outcomes, meso-level change and wider influences on practice	35
2.5	Chapter conclusions and summary	55
3	TOWARDS A MORE CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE ON INTERGENERATIONAL PRACTICE AND SOCIAL CHANGE	57
3.1	Chapter overview	57
3.2	Intergenerational practice and social change	57
3.3	The potential of intergenerational practice: community mobilisation and social change	59
3.4	The root of the problem: a neglect of the social in social change	61
3.5	Alternatives to the contact hypothesis: social explanations	64
3.6	The individual as social and the social as individual: Towards a more critical perspective on intergenerational practice and social change	68
3.7	The theory of social representations	72
3.8	Social representations within intergenerational practice: a theoretical framework	85
3.9	Chapter summary	87
4	METHODOLOGY	88

4.1	Chapter overview	88
4.2	Ontological and epistemological position	88
4.3	Using mixed qualitative methods to explore intergenerational practice and social change	91
4.4	Developing the research design: networking and scoping the field	93
4.5	The three studies: intergenerational practice in text, talk and action	98
4.6	Study one: intergenerational practice in text - documents as active agents	99
4.7	Study two: intergenerational practice in talk - interviews with facilitators	101
4.8	Study three: intergenerational practice in action - action research and creative methods	103
4.9	Using thematic analysis to illuminate the process of social construction	112
4.10	Reflexivity and the need to explore subjectivities	114
4.11	Intergenerational practice in text, talk and in action: a methodological framework	115
4.12	Chapter summary	117
5	INTERGENERATIONAL PRACTICE IN TEXT: DOCUMENTS AS ACTIVE AGENTS	118
5.1	Chapter overview	118
5.2	Research aims	119
5.3	Method	119
5.4	Research findings: documents as active agents	127
5.5	The role of individualism/collectivism in shaping social representations of IP in text	164
5.6	Social representations of intergenerational practice in texts: personal reflections	165
5.7	Chapter summary	167
6	INTERGENERATIONAL PRACTICE IN TALK: HOW FACILITATORS MAKE SENSE OF PRACTICE	169
6.1	Chapter overview	169
6.2	Research aims	170
6.3	Method	171
6.4	Research findings: how facilitators make sense of intergenerational practice	183
6.5	The nature of intergenerational practice – How does it work?	185
6.6	The participants in intergenerational practice – Who is it for?	202
6.7	The facilitator of intergenerational practice – What is the facilitator's role?	229
6.8	Tensions in intergenerational practice and two broad representational fields of knowledge	247
6.9	Social representations of intergenerational practice in talk: personal reflections	248
6.10	Chapter summary	250

7	INTERGENERATIONAL PRACTICE IN ACTION: BUILDING, PILOTING AND ANALYSING AN INITIATIVE	252
7.1	Chapter overview	252
7.2	Research aims	253
7.3	Reflexivity and my own attempt at ‘embracing the messiness’	253
7.4	Local context	254
7.5	Engaging others in action	256
7.6	Intergenerational practice in action: research methods	263
7.7	Intergenerational practice in action: research findings	271
7.8	Intergenerational practice in action: personal reflections	317
7.9	Chapter summary	319
8	INTERGENERATIONAL PRACTICE AND SOCIAL CHANGE: CONTRIBUTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS	321
8.1	Chapter overview	321
8.2	The relationship between intergenerational practice and social change	321
8.3	Contributions to the literature	326
8.4	The future of intergenerational practice	340
8.5	Intergenerational practice in the UK	342
8.6	Limitations of the research	344
8.7	Final reflections on intergenerational practice: from scepticism to a realistic optimism	346
8.8	Chapter summary	348
	REFERENCES	350

List of Tables

		Page
Table 2.1	Reported participant outcomes from 4 key reviews of IP	23
Table 6.1	Facilitators' position and population worked with	173
Table 6.2	Facilitator pseudonyms and details of their role and relationship to the population they work with	173
Table 6.3	Theoretical connections between the spectrum of representations of IP in facilitators' talk and existing social psychological theories and models in regards to health and social issues: how an individualist/collectivist theme shapes IP and other models of social change.	202
Table 7.1	Brief OAYSES project participant profiles	263
Table 7.2	Research methods employed throughout the OAYSES project.	266
Table 8.1	A comparison between several models of community-based social change offered by different authors with the addition of the present research findings.	331

List of Figures

	Page
Figure 2.1 Kaplan (2002) Scale of intergenerational engagement	44
Figure 3.1 The lens of my theoretical framework, focused on IP in action as well as broader influences (i.e. IP facilitators and agendas)	86
Figure 4.1 The nature of activities in one action research cycle with the activities associated with study 3 in bold	105
Figure 4.2 The methodological scope of each study	115
Figure 5.1 Three dimensions showing dichotomous social representations within the construction of IP, the facilitator, the participants and practice aims and outcomes. These social representations are rooted in the thema individualism/collectivism	128
Figure 5.2 Social agents involved in IP. Arrows illustrate the 'top-down' versus 'bottom-up' nature of IP constructed by the documents	131
Figure 5.3 Type of service/organisation documents are aimed at or disseminated by	146
Figure 6.1 Cognitive polyphasia in facilitators' social representations of IP, underpinned by the themata individualism/collectivism and us/them	170
Figure 6.2 Dimension depicting representations of facilitators' role (governor, mediator and activist) and how these map facilitators official role (rear-line, planner and front-line)	231
Figure 7.1 Themes and social representations identified within the analysis along with underlying themata	272
Figure 7.2 Drawing by younger participant	282
Figure 7.3 Tablecloth comment by younger participant	282
Figure 7.4 An older person drawn by a small group of older and younger participants during the third project session	287
Figure 7.5 Evaluative comment left by and older participant	294

Figure 7.6	Evaluative comment left by an older participant	295
Figure 7.7	Easter card created during the final session by a younger participant for an older participant	298
Figure 7.8	Photograph of whole group responses to 'What makes Stoke-on-Trent a tough place to be young or old?'	308
Figure 7.9	Participants abandon the structured activities in favour of exploring their own intergenerational interests	312
Figure 8.1	Key themes and cognitive polyphasia within intergenerational practice with over-arching themes of intervention versus collective action	324
Figure 8.2	Levels of social change with IP as a tool for community mobilisation	326

List of Appendices

	Page
Appendix A: The nature of Stoke-on-Trent	371
Appendix B: Ethical approval letter 1 (Study Two)	374
Appendix C: Ethical approval letter 2 (Study Two)	376
Appendix D: Invitation letter (Study Two)	377
Appendix E: Information sheet (Study Two)	378
Appendix F: Consent form (Study Two)	380
Appendix G: Interview schedule (Study Two)	382
Appendix H: Ethical approval letter (Study Three)	384
Appendix I: Invitation to facilitator feedback event (Study Two)	386
Appendix J: Background to the development of the OAYSES project	387
Appendix K: Thank you and information flyer (Study Two)	395
Appendix L: OAYSES Project proposal (Study Three)	396
Appendix M: Information sheet for older participants (Study Three)	401
Appendix N: Information sheet for facilitators (Study Three)	403
Appendix O: Consent form for older participants (Study Three)	405
Appendix P: Consent form for younger participants (Study Three)	406
Appendix Q: Consent form for facilitators (Study Three)	408
Appendix R: Images of older people drawn during OAYSES project (Study Three)	410
Appendix S: Topic Guide (Study Three)	411
Appendix T: Letter to parents (Study Three)	413
Appendix U: Invitation letter for older participants (Study Three)	416
Appendix V: Invitation letter for younger participants (Study Three)	417
Appendix W: Invitation letter for facilitators (Study Three)	419
Appendix X: Codebook (Study 1)	420
Appendix Y: Codebook (Study 2)	422
Appendix Z: Codebook (Study 3)	434

List of Abbreviations

IP	Intergenerational Practice
UK	United Kingdom
WHO	World Health Organisation
LGNI	Linking Generations Northern Ireland
OAYSES	Old and young sharing each other's stories
ECIL	European Certificate in Intergenerational Learning
AFC	Age Friendly Cities
DBS	Disclosure and Barring Service

For Paul James Wright-Bevans (1989-2015)

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Preface: a personal introduction

I feel the need to begin this thesis with a short personal narrative in order to position myself as a reflective situated scholar. The research detailed in this thesis grew from my long-standing commitment to social justice and community empowerment. Raised mostly single-handedly by my mother, a staunch Labour party supporter, I grew up with awareness that the world is an unjust place. My childhood was somewhat turbulent, frequented by figures of authority such as police and clinical psychologists and characterised by few material resources relative to my peers. I entered part-time employment at 14 years old and full-time work at 17 - as was the expectation among working-class families in the small town I grew up in. I later returned to education after several years of work in a range of environments, many of which involved older and younger people. My upbringing and experiences of working life prior to starting this research inevitably shaped my sense of how positive social change is achieved. I remain open-minded but ultimately sceptical of the potential of any interventionist top-down approach to social change, having experienced being either the target of such intervention or been employed by institutions to deliver such interventions to others.

More recently I worked as a peer facilitator with young adults recovering from mental health issues and conducted research into how young adults manage their recovery. It was here I first witnessed the empowerment of young people and developed a passion for working with others to facilitate positive social change. I'd also spent time working

with older adults in numerous capacities. Around a decade ago, I worked firstly as a care worker for older adults in the community and then later also in a nursing home. The former I found very rewarding. I felt that my role there was to help older adults maintain as much autonomy and independence as possible. I found working in a nursing home more disheartening than rewarding and felt my role was to help older adults to be as comfortable as possible with being institutionalised. I spent several years as a part-time public house manager working in small country pubs where the average customer was a 60 something year old male and where I sensed that any reference to these independent, outwardly healthy and wealthy customers as 'older' would be mocked. Through each of these experiences I learned something about the power of context in shaping assumptions, values and actions in relating to older (and younger) people.

This thesis is largely about older and younger people and the relationships between them. The terms older and younger are ultimately relative and assume a typical life expectancy. My own understanding of what it means to be older and younger has been somewhat shaken through personal experiences. Both my father and brother died before reaching the age of 26 – still defined by most as younger people. Conversely, I am very fortunate that both my maternal and paternal grandparents are alive and well. One consequence of these experiences is that the aphorism 'we all get old – if we're lucky!' has become particularly poignant.

Like any other, my personal experiences have granted me many values and biases. My experiences have taught me to hold a lot of respect for those who are lucky enough to

have lived long enough to be considered an older person. They have taught me how the seemingly value-free actions of figures of authority have real consequences in the lives of those they govern. Finally, and perhaps most importantly for this thesis, my experiences have taught me about the power of context for creating or limiting opportunities for positive social change.

1 Introduction

“We are all social creatures to the inmost centre of our being. The notion that one can begin anything from scratch, free from the past, or unindebted to others, could not conceivably be more wrong.”

- Karl. R. Popper

1.1 Chapter overview

This chapter introduces the thesis and the problem it sought to address. There has been a recent growth in the development of intergenerational practice (IP) with little understanding of how (if at all) IP promotes positive social change. This chapter provides some background and context to this problem. The development of IP is discussed in the context of current social issues and demographic shifts relating to older and younger people such as increased life expectancy, an ageing population and youth unemployment. This chapter also outlines some key definitions, concepts, the research aims and structure of the thesis.

1.2 The problem addressed in this thesis

A growing older population and a perceived disconnect between older and younger generations have led to the development of intergenerational practice (IP). This community development tool appeared to aim to address concerns at the micro, meso and macro level by promoting positive attitudes between younger and older people and increasing wellbeing and community cohesion. Though framed as a community

development tool, its capacity for social change is often unclear, underexplored or ill-matched to the theoretical underpinnings of existing research. Previous research is dominated by contact theories and has frequently examined only micro-level outcomes such as individual attitudes. This thesis adopted a critical social psychological approach and aimed to explore the relationship between IP and social change. In doing so, the thesis attempted to gain a greater understanding of IP's capacity for social change at the micro, meso and macro levels as well as the processes involved in achieving such change.

1.3 Older people

In the UK, there are more adults in their seventies and eighties than ever before and life expectancy is increasing (Bowling, 2008). Quality of life in old age is inevitably shaped by factors at the individual, community and societal level and these are mutually dependant (Rapheal, Cava, Brown, Renwick, Heathcote, Weir et al, 1995).

1.3.1 Ill health and cognitive decline: micro-level challenges

Quality of life in old age has become an increasing concern for health professionals and policy makers alike as many older adults now live longer with chronic illnesses (Breivik, Collett, Ventafridda, Cohen & Gallacher, 2006). Multi-morbidities are often treated with a 'poly-pharmacy' approach where by a combination of drugs is prescribed which in turn increases the risk of negative side effects and interactions.

Cognitive decline is a common characteristic of old age. Dementia is state of advanced cognitive decline which impacts memory and other cognitive functions which affect an individual's ability to carry out daily activities. In 2013 around 815,000 people in the UK had a diagnosis of dementia and rates of diagnosis are increasing (Starr, 2015). It is also important to recognise that many older people continue to learn, develop new skills and abilities and thrive on a cognitive level (Deary, 2015).

Although life expectancy is increasing, for many adults (especially those in lower socio-economic groups) this equates to a greater number of year spent coping with challenges such as frailty. Frailty is an umbrella term to include muscle loss, weakness and mobility issues (Nazroo, 2015). As well as impacting upon quality of life, frailty can also lead to higher risks of other conditions such as obesity.

Many interventions and campaigns for older people (and the wider population) are targeted at the promotion of healthy behaviours (e.g. a healthy balanced diet, regular exercise, smoking and substance abuse cessation and safe sex). In doing so, often such problems are framed as under the complete control of the individual. Traditionally, within old public health approaches to health and illness, individual level problems were tackled through individual treatment once they became problematic (Peterson & Lupton, 1997). The dominant new public health approach, informed by neo-liberal attitudes to health and illness recognises that many of the challenges facing individuals are deepened by wider meso and macro inequalities such as social isolation and poverty.

1.3.2 Social isolation and local opportunities: meso-level challenges

Challenges for older people at the meso or community level mediate individual health concerns. These challenges can include access to local resources, opportunities for friendship, inclusion and community cohesion. Older people, particularly those living in disadvantaged areas are faced with many challenges that can be detrimental to their individual health and wellbeing. Phillipson (2015) argued that neighbourhoods have a far-reaching influence on the wellbeing of the older people who live in them. Many of these challenges such as poverty, loneliness, stigma and a lack of opportunities have been attributed to social disengagement (Conroy, Golden, Jeffares, O'Neill & McGee, 2010).

Health professionals are increasingly recognising the value of social engagement for older people and research has witnessed a steady shift away from barriers to social engagement such as cognitive decline, towards ways to promote active ageing (Sampson, Bulpitt & Fletcher, 2009). Active aging refers to the process of optimizing opportunities for health and wellbeing for both individuals and communities (Bowling, 2008). The concept of 'active ageing' has however been criticised for implying that growing old is usually a passive process (Stenner, McFarquhar & Bowling, 2011). Stenner et al (2011) called for a more critical approach to active ageing which takes account of both those life events which may challenge the capacity to be active (e.g. chronic illness) as well as the ways in which people might respond to such challenges.

It is well established that social engagement promotes mental stimulation protecting against cognitive decline and boosting health and wellbeing (Bassiik, Glass & Berkman, 1999). Community health promotion initiatives which aim to address some of the community level challenges such as social engagement could be seen to both boost individual health and provide a buffer against the wider macro-level factors which shape the conditions within individuals and communities live (Murray & Campbell, 2004).

1.3.3 Poverty, power and social inequalities: macro-level challenges

Macro-level or societal factors such as poverty, inequality in the distribution of resources and societal representations of older people inevitably shape the experience of old age. A neglect of such factors serves to de-politicise old age and place responsibility for quality of life with the individuals and communities within it (Murray & Campbell, 2003).

In 2015, Age UK reported that 1.6 million older people live below the poverty line.

Inadequate housing can significantly increase the risk of falls, accidents and a decline in physical health as well as social isolation and mental wellbeing (Porteus, 2015).

Challenges often viewed as individual health behaviours are inevitably shaped by poverty and social inequalities. Poor nutrition, obesity, smoking and substance abuse are well proven to be greater amongst the poorest in our society (Milligan, 2015). Considered together with a lower pensionable income, these factors play a crucial role in contributing to increased health inequalities, resulting in a greater likelihood that chronic health conditions will be experienced amongst the poorest older people.

Social exclusion among older can also be a consequence of ageism. Ageism can be observed in negative stereotypes, actions which serve to exclude and the invisibility of old age in positive media (Calasanti, 2005). Wide-spread structural inequalities such as these are societal challenges and ultimately take more time and power to tackle effectively.

1.4 Younger people

In 2011, 16 to 24 year olds made up approximately 12% of the population in the UK (ONS, 2016). Whereas health and social isolation are prominent issues for older people, younger people in the UK face their own set of challenges. Again, these challenges can be seen at a micro, meso and macro level and are interdependent.

1.4.1 Mental health issues and unhealthy behaviours: micro-level challenges

The mental health of young people has been recognised as a global public health challenge (Patel, Flisher, Hetrick, & McGorry, 2007). The mental health foundation estimates that mental health problems affect one in ten young people in the UK. This impacts the quality of life of the individual as well as putting them at risk of self-harm and suicide. Suicide remains the largest cause of death among 20 to 34 year olds in the UK (ONS, 2014). In line with the old public health approach, the majority of mental health issues in young people are treated once they become problematic through a combination of medication and talking therapies.

With the exception of mental health, which is treated through a more medicalised approach, there are a diverse range of community-based programmes have been targeted at children and young people in the UK. The number of programmes aimed at increasing citizenship behaviours in particular appear to be increasing (Haste, 2004). Such programmes tend to either be aimed at reducing the incidence of behaviours deemed problematic or anti-social (e.g., excessive alcohol consumption, unsafe sex or violent behaviour) or the promotion of positive behaviours (e.g., volunteerism) (Hall, Williamson & Coffey, 2000).

1.4.2 Unemployment and anti-social behaviour: meso-level challenges

At the meso or community level, a lack of opportunities to contribute to the community and to society is a common challenge. Across the UK there are a significant number of young people categorised as NEET (not in education, training or employment).

Anti-social and criminal behaviour is characteristic of communities where unemployment is high. A cyclical relationship can then often be seen between meso-level challenges such as education, employment or local opportunities and micro-level factors such as mental health issues and engagement in unhealthy behaviours. In a 2003 Home Office Crime and Justice Survey, 29% of ten to 25 year olds said that they had been involved in anti-social behaviour in the last 12 months. Common problem behaviours were public disturbance and causing neighbour complaints. Rates of self-reported anti-social behaviour were highest among males and among 14 to 16 year olds. Meso-level factors such as

employment and education are heavily determined by economic and political factors at the macro-level.

1.4.3 Poverty, power and social inequalities: macro-level challenges

Fairness and equality regarding education and employment opportunities on a community level are shaped by factors at the societal level such as the national minimum wage and support for students in education. Poverty is a major barrier to the health and social inclusion of young people. Many welfare changes have impacted disproportionately upon younger people (Heath, 2008). Particularly pertinent are the restrictions on eligibility for housing benefits for those aged under 25 years and the scrapping of EMA (educational maintenance allowance) in 2011. Such changes have created challenges for younger people from low income backgrounds in the transition to adulthood (Heath, 2008).

Just as older people are subject to stigma and stereotypes, young people face this same challenge. Political developments such as former Prime Minister Cameron's "hug a hoodie" campaign along with events such as the 2011 riots served to provide additional rationale for programmes aimed at promoting positive behaviours in younger people. Some argue that this response served only to marginalise and stigmatise young working class males (Moran & Waddington, 2015). It is a similarity in the macro-issues faced by both older and younger people (e.g. poverty, housing, stigma and stereotypes) which has in part fuelled the development of intergenerational practice.

1.5 The development of intergenerational practice

Various health promotion initiatives have been successful in engaging older or younger people, increasing opportunities and improving health (Cameron, Crane, Ings & Taylor, 2013). A lack of self-confidence, resources and skills often, however, limits the sustainability of such projects (O'Loughlin, Renaud, Richard, Gomez & Paradis, 1998). Intergenerational practice (IP) aims to tackle some of these individual and community level challenges by bringing younger and older people together to combat stigma, promote skill sharing and increase confidence in both the young and old (Werner, Teufel, Holtgrave & Brown, 2012).

An ageing population and increased life expectancy have offered a rationale for engaging older people in community health promotion initiatives such as IP. For younger people, originally, the added benefit of IP as opposed to youth only programmes was perceived to be the ability to offer young people opportunities to learn about the past, to develop a cultural identity, gain positive role models and connect to previous generations (Newman, Ward, Smith, Wilson & McCrea, 1997). Much of the rationale for the development of IP arises from societal changes which impact older and younger people disproportionately (e.g. poverty, housing, and opportunities to contribute to the community) (Bernard & Ellis, 2004).

Over the past decade, IP has spread across developed countries. Granville (2002) has stated that the term 'intergenerational practice' covers a wide range of activities, and is

only loosely defined. She suggested that one accepted definition for intergenerational programmes is that they are “are vehicles for the purposeful and ongoing exchange of resources and learning amongst older and younger generations for individual and social benefits”. A more concise definition has been offered by Cook and Bailey (2013) who suggested that IP “fosters interaction between older and younger members of society”. Various formats for these programs or practices have evolved (Langford & Mayo, 2001), and various classification typologies have been developed. According to Cohen-Mansfield and Jenson (2015) most programs can generally be listed under the following categories: older adults supporting the young, youth supporting older adults, older people and youth collaborating to support the community, older adults and youths engaging together in shared activities, and older adults and the young sharing sites. Ultimately, most IP has appeared to work on a local level, engaging older and younger people with the aim of addressing individual and community concerns.

In the UK, Pain (2005) has described IP as small scale, intensive projects whereby older and younger people converge around shared activities. Generally, these projects aim to enrich intergenerational relations; specific objectives vary and can include promoting social inclusion, health and wellbeing, cultural understanding and education.

A focal rationale for the development of IP is a perceived social separation between old and young (Hagestad & Uhlenberg, 2006). Hatton-Yeo and Ohsako (2000) suggested that this separation is characterised by few naturally occurring opportunities for interaction between generations and is a result of increased geographical transience, longer working

hours and innovations in communication technologies. Hagestad and Uhlenberg (2006) suggested that this social separation is the root of macro-level challenges such as ageism.

The Beth Johnson Foundation's Centre for Intergenerational Practice was established in 2001 and has been highly prominent and active in developing IP nationally and internationally. The Centre defines IP as aiming "to bring people together in purposeful, mutually beneficial activities which promote greater understanding and respect between generations and contribute to building more cohesive communities." (Beth Johnson Foundation, 2011). Toolkits, practice literature and organisations supporting IP have grown within the UK and internationally, as have the number and range of projects (Henkin & Butts, 2002). The aims and objectives of organisations implementing IP vary however a common focus is the promotion of community cohesion, intergenerational contact and knowledge exchange (Buffel, De Backer, Peeters, Phillipson, Reina, Kindekens et al, 2014). 'Magic Me', a well-established London based intergenerational organisation states that they aim to bring together generations to build a stronger, safer community (Langford & Mayo, 2001). In addition, IP aims to promote health and wellbeing and to reduce age related stereotypes (Beth Johnson Foundation, 2011). 'Intergen' another UK based organisation states that its mission is "to make a positive difference to the lives of children, teachers and older people" (Intergen, 2016). Linking Generations Northern Ireland describes its objective as "improving understanding and increasing mutual support" (Linking Generations NI, 2016). IP can therefore be seen as a diverse and flexible community development tool in principle, suitable for addressing: micro-level factors

such as confidence, wellbeing, skills and attitudes; meso-level factors such as community cohesion and social isolation; and macro-level factors such as stereotypes and stigma.

Demographic projections are often cited as a rationale for the development of sustainable IP. In particular, the projected number of older adults living with dementia has led to the promotion of intergenerational solutions. For example, Whitehouse (2013) highlighted IP as a potential solution to the growing population of older adults with dementia. He emphasised the importance of intergenerational schools and drew upon research conducted with such schools which have been operating in the US since 2000 (George, Whitehouse & Whitehouse, 2011).

In 2009, the British government allocated £5.5 million to promoting IP (Beth Johnson Foundation, 2009). Funding was distributed to 12 local authorities to develop practices that would deliver demonstrable outcomes for older people, younger people and the wider community. In the UK, the development of purposeful intergenerational shared sites has been developed over the past 20 years. These aimed to combat age segregation in society by providing suitable purpose built spaces where older and younger people can share facilities (Melville, 2013). There are a number of intergenerational shared sites in the UK; in London, Manchester and in Liverpool however the majority of IP, in the UK takes place within existing spaces or services (Melville & Bernard, 2011).

1.6 Definitions and concepts

Before proceeding it is useful to define some of the key terms and concepts central to IP and to this thesis.

1.6.1 Generation

There are several definitions of the term generation and as Biggs and Lowenstein (2011) have highlighted, different disciplines rely on different definitions. Mannheim (1923) identified three commonalities shared by individuals of the same generation: a shared temporal, historical and socio-cultural location. Within IP, the term generation is used much more loosely and references are made to older and younger generations based on the relationship between groups rather than any particular within group feature. Within IP, the term generation most often refers neither to a specific generation or cohort but simply to a specific age group. Interpretations of the term generation have little consequence when looking solely at a single intergenerational project or several projects occurring at the same time with the same aged people. However the use of different definitions of generation can become problematic when making comparisons over time. To give an example, the older participants of an intergenerational project taking place in 2000 may well be of a different generation to those older participants of a project taking place in 2016 yet the participants will always be of a different generation to the younger participants in any given project. Therefore although *intergenerational* is an accurate term to describe the relationship between older and younger participants in any given

project, broad generalisations about older and younger generations are less valid if adopting a stricter definition of the term such as Mannheim's (1923).

1.6.2 Older

In the UK in 1875, the Friendly Societies Act defined old age as any age over 50 years (Katz, 1996). As life expectancy increased most developed countries have now accepted that at 65 years of age a person is defined as older (WHO, 2015). Many organisations in the UK and across Europe still define an older person as any individual over 50 years of age and IP definitions (e.g., the Beth Johnson Foundation, 2011) commonly refer to older people as those aged over 50 years, therefore defining older people by their chronology rather than identity.

1.6.3 Younger

Younger people in the context of IP are generally defined as those aged up to 25 years. This reflects the definitions of IP adopted by local authorities across the UK (e.g., Blackmore, no date) as well as Age Concern (Berridge & Roberston, 2007). This is arguably a broad definition as it incorporates what others, including the WHO (2016) would define as children (approximately 0 to 10 years of age), adolescents (approximately 10 to 19 years of age) and young adults (approximately 18 to 25 years of age). Like with the generally accepted definition of older people, younger people are defined by chronology rather than identity and this can be problematic, as discussed more throughout the thesis.

1.7 Aims and research questions

The aim of this thesis was to critically examine IP through looking not only at what kinds of social change it achieves but also *how* it achieves such change; the social psychological processes (social representations) involved. The main aims were therefore to explore the relationship between IP and social change. Three studies sought to address this aim through a consideration of IP in text, talk and action. Each study explored the role that different social agents played in the relationship between IP and social change. Each study also sought to address specific sub questions which are discussed in the each of the relevant empirical chapters (Chapters 5, 6 & 7).

1.8 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. The aim of the current chapter is to provide a background to the concept of intergenerational practice and related concepts and issues.

Chapter two contains a review of the psychological literature in relation to IP and social change. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the dominance of contact theories in attempts to understand how intergenerational contact works. This chapter seeks to demonstrate how this theoretical framework has limited understanding of the relationship between IP and social change by assuming that meso and macro level change can be achieved though attending only to micro level concerns.

Chapter three proposes an alternative theoretical approach to the study of IP. It introduces a critical social psychological approach and draws upon evidence of its application to other social issues to demonstrate how this approach could better our understanding of the relationship between IP and social change.

Chapter four presents an overview of the methodology adopted to address the research aim. It introduces the range of mixed qualitative methods that are employed through three studies and offers a discussion as to why an exploration of IP in text, talk and action is necessary in understanding IP and social change.

Chapters' five, six and seven each detail empirical findings from the three studies.

Chapter five presents the findings from a study of UK and European IP documents. This study aimed to understand the social construction of the practice. Chapters six and seven both report research conducted in Stoke-on-Trent and each contribute cycles in an action research framework. Chapter six reports the findings from semi-structured interviews with 18 community facilitators. This study aimed to understand how such facilitators implement and make sense of IP. Chapter seven details the findings from a pilot IP developed in collaboration with a local organisation. This final study aimed to both demonstrate the kinds of social change that a typical IP can achieve and also provide an opportunity to research the processes that guide that change.

Chapter eight concludes the thesis and brings together the empirical findings in a new integrated framework. The contributions of the findings for contact theories and for the

grey and academic literature on IP are discussed. This chapter discusses strengths and limitations of the research, implications for theory, research and practice, and possible applications.

2 Intergenerational practice: a review of the psychological literature

“For me context is key – from that comes the understanding of everything”

- Kenneth Noland

2.1 Chapter overview

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate the contributions and limitations of previous psychological research in the field of IP. This account is presented in two sections and is framed by the contributions and limitations of inter-group contact theory, the most dominant of theoretical frameworks within the psychology of IP. The first section comprises a discussion of IP and contact theory which centres on attitude change, demonstrating where and how this has contributed as well as highlighted the main limitations of this work to date, namely that it is unable to fully account for any social change beyond the micro-level. The second section examines sparser bodies of work in the psychology of IP which have explored wellbeing and meso-level outcomes such as community cohesion, the social psychological processes involved in IP, the role of IP facilitators and the role of IP agendas. It is concluded that without attention to the potential of IP for meso and macro level change and more critical attention to micro-level outcomes, understandings of IP will continue to revolve around a limited account of inter-group contact, overly concerned with attitude change and unable to fully capture the benefits and limitations of the practice.

2.2 Scope and structure of the review

Intergenerational practice was introduced in chapter one as an increasingly popular social initiative aimed at enhancing the quality of life of older people and younger people through changing attitudes and promoting wellbeing and community cohesion. The focus of this review is a critical examination of contributions from psychological literature to understandings of what kinds of social change IP can achieve and how IP works to achieve this.

2.3 Intergenerational practice and contact theory: contribution and limitations

A growth in the academic literature on IP has followed a growth in policy and practice. Jarrott (2011) attributed this growth in literature mainly to the introduction of *The Journal of Intergenerational Relationships* in 2003 and suggested that this provided a central dissemination outlet and space to develop theory, policy and case study profiles. Despite such a growth, Jarrott's (2011) content analysis revealed that IP research is largely underpinned by contact theory or variations of it.

2.3.1 The relationship between intergenerational practice and contact theory

Contact theory was the only theory cited in the *Centre for Intergenerational Practice Guide to Practice* (2006) and it has been cited consistently and extensively in IP research

and evaluation (see Abrams, Eller & Bryant, 2006; Grefe, 2011; Alcock et al, 2011; Gaggioli et al, 2014).

The multiple variations of contact theory that are used today all have their basis in Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis which suggested that positive inter-group contact could promote positive inter-group relations and reduce prejudice. Allport's (1954) empirical work involved bringing members of different (racial and ethnic) groups together to reduce hostility between them. The contact hypothesis further specified that prejudice reduction was more likely to be successful where the groups in contact were of equal status, worked cooperatively towards a common goal and received institutional support.

Even where explicit use of any particular theory has been absent from IP research, definitions of both IP and Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis clearly share some similar assumptions, as illustrated in a comparison of a description of the contact hypothesis:

"To be maximally effective, contact and acquaintance programs should lead to a sense of equality in social status, should occur in ordinarily purposeful pursuits, avoid artificiality, and if possible enjoy the sanction of the community in which they occur."

Tenets of the contact hypothesis, Allport (1958: 454)

with the definition of IP most often cited in the UK:

“Intergenerational practice aims to bring people together in purposeful, mutually beneficial activities which promote greater understanding and respect between generations and contributes to building more cohesive communities.”

Definition of intergenerational practice, Centre for Intergenerational Practice (2001)

As contact is a central tenet of IP, when definitions are compared, it is easy to see why the tenets of the contact hypothesis resonate. IP has adopted some of these quite explicitly, e.g., participants should be of equal status and cooperate towards common goals.

Contact theory attempted to provide an empirical tool with which to promote harmonious inter-group relations, a major contribution to social psychological literature which continues to develop. A key limitation of Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis is the reductionist lens through which inter-group relations were measured and understood – a lens focused on attitudes. Perhaps unsurprisingly a large body of IP research has therefore adopted this same focus on attitude change as a primary outcome of IP. Many studies have used changes in attitude to either conclude or imply that IP has the potential to challenge prejudices, with little consideration for the deeper socio-cultural origins of prejudices towards older and younger people.

2.3.2 Attitude change: utilising contact theory in intergenerational practice

Historically IP was designed with little input from academics (Abrams & Giles, 1999). Newman (1997: 55), in a discussion of the origins of intergenerational programmes, described how they were originally developed upon the idea that intergenerational contact would “promote sharing of skills, knowledge, or experience between the young and old; and would provide ongoing and planned interactions designed to benefit both populations”. Such aims appear broad with a focus on meso-level social change promoted within communities. As a desire for evidence-based practices increased, IP research increasingly focused on examining various outcomes of initiatives. In the broader practice literature, which is largely a theoretical, a wide range of outcomes and benefits of IP are reported.

Table 2.1 provides a summary of all outcomes reported in four key reviews of IP and in doing so combines evaluations of over 350 intergenerational projects worldwide. The table demonstrates the many and varied outcomes that have been reported to result from IP. These ranged from micro-level change (e.g. improved attitudes) to the meso-level change (e.g. community cohesion).

Table 2.1 *Reported participant outcomes from 4 key reviews of IP*

Source	IPs Reviewed	Outcomes of IP
MacCallum et al (2006)	120 Australian-based practices	Breaking down barriers and developing new understandings of each other
		Sharing experience and building their community
		Learning about history and building stories in young people
		Young people are diverted away from trouble
		People become healthier, more resilient and engage in important identity work
		People get to work on practical activities that take care of or develop something important to the community
		People have fun and enjoy themselves
		People build very concrete and often highly specialised skills, find work and were given career opportunities
Granville (2002)	60+ UK based practices	Increased wellbeing
		Confidence
		Greater Understanding
Springate, Atkinson & Martin (2008)	43 UK based practices	Increased understanding
		Friendship
		Enjoyment
		Confidence
		Reduced isolation for older participants
		Increased health and wellbeing for older participants
		Increased self-esteem for younger participants
		Skills for younger participants
		Community cohesion
Jarrott (2011)	Evaluation of 128 practices	Attitude change
		Psycho-social/affective wellbeing
		Increased pro-social behaviour
		New knowledge or skills

A review by MacCallum, Palmer, Wright, Cumming-Potvin, Northcote, Brooker et al (2006) of 120 intergenerational projects, and a smaller review of IP in the UK (Granville, 2002), concluded that successful IP can have a range of psycho-social benefits for individuals and communities. Despite these conclusions, psychological research has narrowed its attention to the micro-level outcome of attitude change. Springate et al (2008) noted that despite diverse outcomes, it can be difficult to measure or capture many of these in IP research.

The simplicity of contact theory and accessibility of tools with which to measure attitudes it is perhaps unsurprising that in a content analysis (Jarrott, 2011) of 128 intergenerational projects spanning four decades the most prevalent reported outcome was changes in attitudes towards the other age group. Attitude change was found to be a main variable in 75% of IP evaluations during the 1980s and despite a slight drop in focus over recent decades, attitude change still remained the most prominent variable in IP evaluations in the 2000s. Wellbeing was the second most frequent variable appearing in 29% of evaluations. Despite a diversification of aims and outcomes of IP in recent years (as demonstrated in table 2.1), according to Jarrott's (2011) analysis, attitude change remained the main focus in just under half of intergenerational project evaluations. Attitude change can be seen to feature in every review reported Table 2.1.

Although the primary aim of most intergenerational programs has been broadly to "promote positive exchanges between younger and older participants" (Kuehne, 1999: 162), most empirical reports have suggested that IP is primarily a tool for changing

negative attitudes (Abrams, Eller & Bryant, 2006; Kessler & Staudinger, 2007; Gaggioli, Morganti, Bonfiglio, Scaratti, Cipresso, Serino et al, 2014). Multiple studies have sought to explore the effect of IP on attitudes towards the other age group. Traditionally most of this attitude research has explored changes in younger people's attitudes towards older people and not older people's attitudes towards younger people (Biggs and Lowenstein, 2011).

Randomised controlled trials have been used to measure the effect of different forms of intergenerational contact on individuals' attitudes and concluded that positive attitudes can be increased through a wide variety of intergenerational contact activities (e.g., working together, learning together, working on separate projects though seated together) (Giles, Fox & Smith, 1993). Consistent with Allport's (1954) original empirical work, intergenerational attitude change has almost exclusively been measured through self-report questionnaires. Self-reporting in general and in particular the self-reporting of prejudice is very susceptible to demand characteristics, participants being more inclined to report an increase in positive attitudes knowing that this is the aim of the intervention.

The study of intergenerational contact is as expansive in nature as other studies on contact, interventions having involved imagined (rather than direct) contact with the other generation (see Turner, Crisp & Lambert, 2007) or increasing knowledge about the other generation through use of stories or vignettes (see Meshel & Glynn, 2004). Both of which resulted in an increase in self-reported positive attitudes towards the other generation. Some early studies also explored quality versus quantity of intergenerational contact (e.g.

Knox, Gekoski & Johnson, 1986). Knox et al (1986) reported that higher *quality* contact (as perceived by the participant) was more effective in changing adolescents' attitudes towards older adults than high *quantities* of contact.

The literature exploring attitude change is therefore broad and has consistently supported the idea that intergenerational contact increases positive attitudes towards others. This wealth of support and the evidence-base it has produced has at best contributed to the funding of IP development and assisted in legitimising it as an appropriate and effective community development tool. At worst the wealth of research on attitude change underpinned by contact theory has drawn attention to the need to explore ageism and offered some insights into this.

Ultimately however, much of this research lacks ecological validity – the extent to which findings are generalisable to 'real-world' settings. Ecological validity is crucial to the understanding of attitude change through IP as by nature IP occurs in various complex settings where researchers have little control over the environment. This questions the validity and transferability of any lab-based research on intergenerational attitude change to attitude change through IP. This limitation, in addition to the idea that quality rather than quantity of contact is key to attitude change (Knox, Gekoski & Johnson, 1986; Bousfield & Hutchison, 2010), has led to an increase in research in various non-laboratory settings.

Randomised controlled trials in community settings, alongside a growing body of applied psychological research has sought to measure changes in attitudes following IP in various environments e.g., day care centres (Middlecamp & Gross, 2002), school classroom (Dunham & Casadonte, 2009) and retirement communities (Artale, 2001). Self-report measures of intergenerational attitudes are commonly administered before, during and after intergenerational activities. Dunham and Casadonte (2009) for example, used data from 380 elementary and junior high school students in the US who were participants in an intergenerational science project called Project Serve. Older volunteers were recruited as classroom assistants in science lessons and students completed Newman's (1997) Children's View on Ageing Survey. Attitudes towards older adults in the intergenerational classrooms were compared to those in a regular control classroom and attitudes towards older adults were significantly more positive in those students in the intervention classroom following Project Serve.

In community settings, a more complex picture of attitude change is however evident. Meshel and McGlynn (2004) for example, investigated the optimal conditions for changing intergenerational attitudes. This study involved 63 adolescents in either a contact, a didactic instruction or a control group. Those in the contact condition participated in eight weekly sessions where they worked in pairs with volunteers aged over 60 to produce a 'skit' for a school performance. Similar to research by Dunham and Casadonte (2009), Meshel and McGlynn (2004) found that the IP did generally lead to an increase in positive attitudes both towards older people and adolescents. Post-contact measures however also revealed an increase in negative stereotypes about older people

for those in the didactic instruction condition, suggesting that the presence of older adults alone was insufficient to promote positive attitudes. Others also found that IP did not necessarily result in increased positive attitudes (e.g., Middlecamp & Gross, 2002; Cummings et al., 2002). Though limited by self-report measures, findings such as those by Meschel and McGlynn (2004) are explained by the tenets of the contact hypothesis. By distinguishing between 'working with' older adults and being 'taught by' older adults, Meschel and McGlynn (2004) contravene the principle that both groups should be of equal status. In the contact group, where groups were working together (of a more equal status) rather than being taught by the other, positive attitudes did increase. Nonetheless, such studies are reliant on flawed self-report measures to assess increased positive attitudes.

Researchers have increasingly turned to alternative methods to measure the effect of IP on attitudes. Dorfman, Murty, Ingram, Evans and Power's (2004) used mixed methods (standardised scales with additional open-ended survey questions) to gain a deeper insight into the effects of IP on students' attitudes towards older people in an intergenerational service learning context. Students were asked about attitudes towards intergenerational service learning as well as attitudes towards their own ageing. The use of open-ended questions allowed for a wider range of responses beyond a desire to change attitudes and revealed that the students wished to 'understand the older adults' more.

George, Stuckey and Whitehead (2014) also used mixed methods to explore medical students' changes in attitudes towards older people affected by dementia enrolled in a creative storytelling programme. Standardised attitude scales were analysed alongside student focus groups and reflexive writing transcripts. Consistent with previous research, the pre and post-test scales revealed significant increases in the students' positive attitudes towards people affected by dementia. The qualitative findings, however, placed little emphasis on attitudes, instead the medical students reported feeling 'fear and discomfort' prior to the programme, followed by 'comfort' during storytelling. Like Dorfman et al (2004) this study demonstrated how the use of a wider range of qualitative methods can demonstrate outcomes for participants beyond attitude change.

For some the benefits of qualitative methods in IP research had long been apparent. In 1999, Ward argued that IP needed more ethnographic research. Relatively little ethnographic research has been conducted on IP to date, arguably because of both the apparent success of much simpler standardized measures in revealing favoured outcomes (i.e. attitude change) and a reliance on contact theory to understand how IP works.

More recently a small number of more applied studies have sought to explore attitudes through a qualitative community oriented lens. In a rare example, Alcock, Camic, Barker, Haridi and Raven (2011) used ethnographic methods to explore changes in age stereotypes during IP. They used a 'focused ethnographic approach' in which they used focus groups and observations to assess the outcomes of a community intervention held weekly over seven months. Sessions involved 18 younger people and 13 older people and

employed group photography as this was established as a mutual interest in an early session. Through thematic analysis of the observational and focus group data, the intervention was found to have had a positive effect on age stereotypes in both older and younger participants. Ethnographic methods, suggested that engaging in IP meant that both the older and younger participants “learned *about* each other and *from* each other” (p. 428) leading to less reliance on age stereotypes learned in their communities and from the media. Alcock et al (2011) offer a rare example of a psychological study of IP, examining *how* IP influences attitudes, with reference to meso and macro level sources of stereotypes.

2.3.3 What is an attitude? Ontological limitations of contact theory

The problem with understanding attitude change as an outcome of IP extends beyond methodological reductionism to the ontological question of what is an attitude? In order to be measured in a consistent and accessible manner, attitudes have been defined as “a person’s evaluations of various aspects of their social world (Sutton & Douglas, 2013). Through this definition psychological research has enabled the operationalisation of an attitude as an individual’s orientation towards a given object.

Self-report measures assume attitudes to be explicit (Sutton & Douglas, 2013) that is, in an individual’s conscious awareness. Attitudes are ultimately of interest to psychologists because of their assumed relationship with behaviour and are frequently used as components in psychological models such as the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen,

1991). The Theory of Planned Behaviour is based on the assumption that attitudes, subjective norms (how others feel about the same object) and perceived behavioural control (how easily can the behaviour be carried out) all shape a person's behavioural intention which in turn leads to a behaviour. This model is typical of mainstream health psychology in that it assumes behaviour is driven by a rational decision making process within the mind of the individual (Murray, 2010). Within the context of IP, such operationalisation of individuals' attitudes towards the other has fuelled the development of studies which focus solely on micro-level social change and neglect the meso-level factors (e.g. community cohesion, shared skills, friendships) that IP often aims to tackle.

Recognition is needed within IP research that attitudes cannot be operationalised without neglecting their fundamental characteristics (e.g., that they are social in origin, prefaced by social representations and shaped by meso and macro level factors). Work needs to be done to examine the context within which attitudes are formed, the social rather than individual origins of attitudes and the often irrational or seemingly illogical underpinnings of attitudes.

In parallel, intergroup contact theories draw upon "the same rationalistic assumptions" as theories such as the Theory of Planned Behaviour to propose that "social contact, interaction and a better knowledge of others can remove barriers between groups" (Markova, 2007: 232). In doing so they make several assumptions which are inappropriate to the study of complex real-world encounters. By neglecting the context within which

interaction occurs, they assume that intergroup contact occurs within a vacuum and in assuming that knowledge will promote positive relations between groups, theories neglect the irrational basis of many beliefs and ideas about others. Murray and Campbell (2003) argued that health psychology has masked the role of economic, political and symbolic social inequalities in patterns of ill-health by persistently directing attention towards the individual level of analysis in explaining health-related behaviours. It is argued here, that contact theories and individualist measurement tools have similarly masked the role of macro-level factors in shaping and constraining the capacity of IP.

2.3.4 Contact theory: developments and conclusions

The problem with using the contact hypothesis as a basis for understanding IP extends beyond a problematic ontology and methodology regarding attitudes. The contact hypothesis also relies upon the assumption that an individual identifies with a particular group membership (e.g., old) and that others in their 'in-group' identify with the same group identity, therefore forming a group (e.g., older people). Furthermore, the assumption is made that individuals within a group identify with each other in a similar way and consequently view the separate group as a distinct and homogenous. This issue of both assumed homogeneity of out-groups and salience of group membership have been highlighted by both critics and advocates of the contact hypothesis (Hewstone & Swart, 2011). Such issues, rather than leading to an abandoning of the theory have promoted further theoretical development and empirical work exploring what are

suggested to be a series of mediators and moderators of contact (Dovidio, Gaertner & Kawakami, 2003; Hewstone & Swart, 2011).

Allport (1954) in his original work, proposed an extensive list of types, role aspects and social atmospheres that may affect contact. He suggested this list of variables “that enter into the problem of contact is not exhaustive, it does however indicate the complexity of the problem we face” ([1988: 264] 1954). Hence, advocates of the theory have proposed a series of developments. One development in the theory has been a move from demonstrating that contact is effective to *how* it works to achieve individual level change (Hewstone & Swart, 2011). More recently, Al Ramiah and Hewstone (2013) acknowledged that although contact is a powerful tool for prejudice reduction, it should be used alongside other means of conflict resolution in order to be most effective.

Giles Fox and Smith (1993) published a systematic review of the literature on intergenerational contact and attitude change. Over fifty studies had been published by that time examining the effects of intergenerational contact on attitudes towards younger and older people. They concluded that positive attitudes towards other age groups do not necessarily lead to a desire for more intergenerational contact. This is highly problematic for research on IP which assumes positive attitudes will result in more positive behaviours. Giles, Fox & Smith (1993) developed the Intergenerational Contact Model which proposed that intergenerational contact alone is insufficient to change attitudes towards older and younger people. Their model combined and elaborated upon intergroup contact theory and also communication accommodation theories. The authors

argued that this theory “set the stage for a new era of theoretically-driven, communication-oriented studies and intergenerational programs” (1993: 423) yet it has rarely been employed in research to date, scholars in IP preferring to highlight classic contact theories as theoretical underpinning.

The appropriateness of the contact hypothesis for the study of IP has been explored empirically. Jarrott and Smith (2011) sought to compare theory-based with traditional IP to demonstrate the strengths of the contact hypothesis as a central tenet of IP. Jarrott and Smith (2011) hypothesised that IP with an adequate theoretical basis (e.g., employing the tenets of the contact hypothesis) would result in increased pro-social behaviours among youth and older adults. From observational data they concluded that intergenerational programming informed by contact theory led to more pro-social behaviour among participating youth. Conversely, they found that pro-social intergenerational behaviour was higher for older participants in the traditional (not informed by contact theory) IP. The results of this applied research directly contradicted the principles of intergroup contact theories although the authors attributed the disparity in findings to both their small sample and the need for further development of the Intergenerational Observational Scale they employed. They concluded that “Contact theory remains a vital tool in supporting positive intergenerational contact and is complemented by the evolving body of intergenerational programming research” (p120). Evidently, many researchers remain wedded to intergroup contact theories as a means of understanding attitude change in IP despite its lack of ability to fully account for attitude change or account for any of the meso-level social change advocated by the practice.

There is a clear need to identify alternatives to the contact hypothesis as a means to understanding the extent of social change possible from IP and the processes involved in achieving such change. Alternatives should adopt a broader more contextualised approach rather than a narrow focus on contact and attitudes as this has evidently hindered an understanding of this topic.

2.4 Beyond contact and attitude change: psycho-social outcomes, meso-level change and wider influences on practice

Much about the nature of IP remains to be understood. In particular little is known about the nature of outcomes besides attitudes. Less is known about the social psychological processes which facilitate micro and meso-level social change as too often this is assumed to simple be the act of intergenerational contact. The role of those in positions of power such as the facilitators and the developers of IP is also rarely explored. The reason for such gaps could be a reliance on individualist theories (such as the contact hypothesis) and limited range of methods (e.g. self-report questionnaires).

This section explores the psychology of IP beyond attitude change with specific attention to:

- Wellbeing as an outcome of IP
- Community cohesion as an outcome of IP
- The social psychological processes at play within IP
- The facilitators of IP

- The broader IP agenda

Each of these facets of IP warrants investigation as key elements to understanding the relationship between IP and social change.

2.4.1 Wellbeing: an increasingly popular outcome of focus

The promotion of wellbeing has been reported as one of the main aims of IP (Kuehne, 2003; Bernard & Ellis, 2004; Hatton-Yeo, 2010; Cumming-Potvin & MacCallum, 2010), yet has received significantly less empirical attention than attitude change. Jarrott's (2011) review of IP found that of 72 projects conducted in the 2000s, 29% of them listed wellbeing as a dependent variable. Unlike research in IP and attitude change, research in IP and wellbeing lacks a strong theoretical influence. This is characteristic of much applied health research and could be a result of contact theory's problem-oriented emphasis on prejudice reduction rather than the promotion of inter-group relationships.

Just as attitude research tended to focus on the effects of IP on younger people's attitudes (Cohen-Mansfield & Jenson, 2015), wellbeing research on the whole is generally targeted at older people and has demonstrated that IP had a positive effect on general wellbeing (e.g., Belgrave, 2011) as well as on more specific measures related to wellbeing such as life satisfaction (Lowenstein, Katz & Gur-Yaish, 2007; Katz & Lowenstein, 2012), depression (Hernandez & Gonzalez, 2008), and affect (Jarrott & Bruno, 2007). The absence of a strong theoretical influence and a broader range of qualitative methods has revealed some of the wellbeing benefits of IP for both older and younger people.

Reisig and Fees (2006) used mixed methods (self-report surveys and focus groups) to assess the impact of intergenerational volunteering on 954 older adults' wellbeing. Overall they found that intergenerational volunteering (in contrast to other kinds of volunteering) had a significant positive impact on wellbeing. They concluded that this was likely attributed to being both active and involved in the wider community (beyond involvement with other older adults).

Hermann, Sipsas-Herrmann and Stafford (2005) similarly used mixed methods and sought to explore the effect of an intergenerational teaching programme on older volunteers' psycho-social wellbeing. Results from Hawley's (1988) Measure of Psychosocial Development revealed were conflicting and demonstrated that the intergenerational programme had a significantly positive impact on some elements of wellbeing but not others (namely generativity). Participant interviews and journals revealed that the older participants were ambivalent about participation. The older participants reported overall enjoyment of the programme though some reported disappointment at the perceived lack of interest from the students. Therefore, while standardised measures may have demonstrated improvements in wellbeing, Herman et al (2005) demonstrated how participants' feelings and experiences may in reality be more ambivalent or complex when alternative research methods are employed.

Much less research has examined the wellbeing of younger participants in IP or examined benefits of IP beyond individual outcomes, perhaps due in part to a reliance on clinical measures of change. Research within two projects conducted by Kagan et al (2007)

illustrate how more detailed insights into participant wellbeing can result from the use of a more applied community-based approach. They used qualitative methods (interviews and focus groups) to evaluate two intergenerational projects which took place in Manchester and Liverpool in the UK. One project was school-based, involving older adults as classroom volunteers. The latter was conducted with minority groups and formed part of an action research project within which the researchers collaborated with practitioners in order to both facilitate and measure positive changes. Focus groups and interviews with the older participants suggested that participation in the projects enhanced both their hedonic and eudemonic wellbeing that is their happiness and pleasure as well as their sense of meaning and self-realisation. From these findings the authors were able to theorise that through increased wellbeing and social capital, community cohesion was promoted. There is a need for further research which adopts a more open-ended approach and employs more participant-led methods which can reveal more about the nature of health and wellbeing improvement in connection with IP.

2.4.2 Community cohesion: attempts to capture meso-level social change

Given that research in IP has mostly focused on micro-level social change underpinned by contact theories, it is perhaps unsurprising that community cohesion is underexplored as an outcome. Community cohesion and other meso-level social change is difficult to capture through classic contact theories and methods. Some researchers have explored social change for communities as well as individuals, including community cohesion. Like wellbeing, community cohesion is a similarly broad concept. Although politically often

associated with race relations (Flint & Robinson, 2008), it is a term used more frequently in relation to other aspects of community including age (Worley, 2005).

Duggan and Kagan (2007) define a cohesive community as a community in a state of harmony, wellbeing and stability. Kagan et al (2007) found increased wellbeing and social capital among IP participants following participation and argued that this facilitated community cohesion. Another of the small number of ethnographic studies in IP examined participants' sense of community (Alcock et al, 2011). Here, 18 young people and 13 older people participated in IP and a combination of qualitative and ethnographic research methods were used to gain insight into the effects of IP on participants' 'sense of community'. The IP consisted of 36 intergenerational activity sessions held over seven months. A participatory ethos was adopted, meaning that the aim was to engage the participants in the design of the research from the outset. From focus groups, field notes and observations the authors showed how older and younger participants held similar ideas about the meaning of community. Some younger participants felt that they were indeed a part of the community and it was meso-level factors (e.g., the youth club and local spaces to spend time) that gave them this sense of community. The older people, however did not feel a strong sense of community, feeling that it had 'dissipated' over time. Following the intervention, older people reported feeling less socially isolated and younger people reported to have spoken to the older participants in community settings outside of the project (e.g., in supermarkets and in passing on the street). Companionship was also a concluding theme, the older people felt more connected to both the younger participants and each other. Five of the six concluding themes discussed by the authors

were outcome oriented and captured the micro and meso social changes resulting from the project. Crucially, a sixth theme pointed also to some of the processes that helped achieve such outcomes, a finding notably absent from many studies on IP. This study is a rare empirical example which gave attention to the meso-level social change IP advocates according to its definitions.

Some scholars have recognised the relationship between individual or micro-level outcomes and community level social change. Buffel et al (2014) suggested that IP is a missed opportunity for sustainable community-led development and neighbourhood regeneration through engagement and empowerment of older and younger people. Rarely, however, does empirical research turn its focus outwards from the inter-personal intergenerational encounter to the potential for social change in the wider community. MacCallum et al. (2006: 89) suggested that meso level change can indeed be achieved through IP and that “benefits to individuals flow into their communities”. Such meso-level benefits of IP and the processes of achieving them have however, rarely been examined empirically.

The use of ethnographic and participant-led approaches have revealed a more detailed understanding of IP in specific contexts. Empirical research however, still remains wedded to the use of individual indicators of attitude change, wellbeing and even very explicitly psycho-social outcomes such as community cohesion. As with the study of attitudes and wellbeing, this absence is a problem extending beyond inappropriate methodologies to a question of appropriate ontology and epistemology. Where attitudes are concerned, a

wealth of literature and a range of reliably tested theories and measures may disguise the problem of ill-founded methodological assumptions. It may have been more difficult however, to justify the operationalisation of 'community cohesion' as a variable. The argument here is therefore that community cohesion has remained underexplored due to mainstream psychological approaches lacking appropriate theories and methods with which to examine it. In order to examine 'social' psychological (micro and meso level outcomes) rather than solely individual (micro level) change, there is a need to adopt more appropriate theories and methodologies to more accurately capture psycho-social outcomes and the processes involved in promoting change through IP.

2.4.3 Practice processes: the strive for an appropriate model

While various studies have made attempts to explore outcomes of IP, fewer studies have explored *how* such outcomes are achieved or the processes involved. Previous research has tended to address the practical components of successful IP rather than explore social psychological processes involved in the promotion of change. This absence, in line with the lack of research on wellbeing, community cohesion and IP agendas, can in part be attributed to an apparent lack of appropriate theoretical and methodological tools with which to examine project processes. Contact theories assume that benefits result from contact itself and therefore where contact theories have been employed there was little rationale to examine social psychological processes in any greater depth.

Though for some scholars contact theories may be sufficient to explain the effects of IP, for others, particularly those working in applied settings, a lack of understanding of the specific processes involved in IP has been more problematic. Granville (2002) conducted a comprehensive review of over 60 UK based intergenerational programmes and argued that IP “relies too much on anecdotal evidence or on evaluating a specific outcome, rather than on the impact of the intervention” (p10). Bernard and Ellis (2004) responded to the need for more rigorous evaluation of IP in their report titled ‘How do we know that intergenerational practice works?’. The report suggested a framework of five stages for evaluation: planning; collecting evidence; assembling and interpreting; reporting outcomes and reflecting. Springate, Atkinson and Martin (2008) raised the same issue in their report and concluded that the “evidence base for the effectiveness of IP is still too weak. There were few rigorous evaluations of projects in the UK” (p. 18).

The issues raised here were not with what outcomes IP achieves but rather *how* it achieves these. Zeldin et al (2005) also supported calls for IP research to focus on processes as well as outcomes, suggesting that researchers needed to consider the mediators and moderators of program effectiveness and also the organisational context. Jarrott, Smith and Weintraub (2008) similarly argued that a “critical limitation of much IGP research lies in the black box that conceals the *process* of bringing young and old together” (p. 435). The latter made attempts to combat this through the development of the Intergenerational Observation Scale. Jarrott et al (2008) used qualitative observations of IP conducted with frail older people and preschool children to modify Rubin’s (2001) Play Observation Scale. The Intergenerational Observation Scale is however more a scale

to identify degree of contact between generations as less a tool for understanding processes involved in achieving project outcomes.

In trying to conceptualise what it is about IP that produces positive outcomes, several authors have devised specific models of practice. Such models aim to draw together common processes and features of successful IP. Freedman et al (2003) proposed that IP is cyclical and identified six factors that determine the success of IP, all of which relate to the organisational management of any given program. These are:

- support from key stakeholders
- well established network systems
- succession planning
- marketing of project activities
- information sharing and documentation that ensures the recording and storage of community and institutional memory
- evaluation of project activities, processes and outcomes to support future strategic decision making. (MacCallum et al, 2006: 111)

The processes of achieving successful IP for Freedman et al (2006) are heavily hinged upon how the project is managed rather than any qualities inherent in the participants. This contrasts with earlier models (e.g., Whitehouse et al, 2000; Manheimer, 1997) which instead suggested that degree of contact or type of contact was the main determinant of success.

Kaplan (2002) attempted to conceptualise the nature of the processes involved in intergenerational programs. He devised a 'continuum of contact' referred to as the 'scale of intergenerational engagement' (see Figure 2.1) onto which he argued all IP lies.

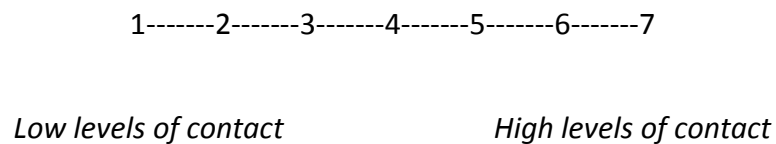


Figure 2.1 Kaplan (2002) Scale of intergenerational engagement.

Kaplan suggested that intergenerational programs on all points of the scale have value. He cautioned however that with:

“outcomes such as changing attitudes about the other age group, building a sense of community, enhancing self-esteem, and establishing nurturing intimate relationships between unrelated individuals, it is appropriate to focus on program models fitting into categories 4-7 on the scale” (p. 316)

Kaplan's (2002) scale of intergenerational engagement has proved popular. It featured in the *Centre for Intergenerational Practice: Guide to Intergenerational Practice* (2006) as a tool for understanding practice. The model's appeal is possibly its simplicity and accessibility. The model nonetheless fails to tell us much about the processes of successful IP beyond the suggestion that the higher the degree of contact between the generations, the more successful the practice.

IP models do demonstrate attempts to move beyond contact theory and measures of outcomes towards a more holistic and process sensitive account of IP. Existing models are in many ways similarly reductionist to mainstream health psychology theories such as Azjen's (1991) Theory of Planned Behaviour in that they have reduced IP processes to either a generalised typology (e.g., Kaplan, 2002) or a linear series of context specific influences upon behavioural outcomes. Neither approach can account for the processes involved within IP.

It is perhaps not the perfect combination of moderators and mediators that are needed to understand how IP works but rather a different epistemology, or way of knowing, all together. Each one of the models reviewed above are underpinned by a positivist epistemology and therefore make many of the same underlying assumptions about human behaviour, that is that knowledge of how IP works can only be gained through objective and quantifiable measurement. This critique is not new. Many scholars have presented similar critiques of mainstream social psychology and its positivist underpinnings (Gough, 2014). There is a need not only to explore alternative social psychological approaches but to also more specifically explore approaches underpinned by an alternative epistemology. As with the exploration of IP outcomes, a fuller understanding of IP processes needs also to be able to account for the social origin of these as well as the kinds of social change that IP is attempting to achieve.

2.4.4 The facilitators of intergenerational practice

In a similar vein, the psychological literature on IP suffers from a lack of understanding of the role played by those who facilitate practice. This absence cannot directly be attributed to the prominence of contact theory as a central tenet of the contact hypothesis is that contact should occur within an environment with institutional support. Across the psychological literature, studies which have and have not referred to contact theories have neglected to address the role of the facilitator in IP. This reflects the focus on micro-level outcomes and the operationalisation of research in IP.

Some research regarding the role of IP facilitators is evident outside of the UK, in places such as the US, Spain and Australia, where IP has been established for much longer.

Across the literature, the terms 'professional', 'practitioner' and 'facilitator' tend to be used somewhat interchangeably to refer to employed persons who implement, conduct or monitor IP. The term facilitator is chosen as the preferred term in this review as the terms 'professional' and 'practitioner' carry health and social work connotations.

Previous research has largely emphasised the practical role of facilitators rather than their role in the process of promoting social change. Research supports the idea that the facilitators of community programmes more generally, need to express certain traits (e.g., be a good communicator and collaborator (Roussos & Fawcett, 2000; Sanchez, 2007; Statham, 2009).

Unlike in the US where 'intergenerational officers' lead IP programmes, the majority of those who facilitate intergenerational work in the UK are community workers or those working with younger or older people. Although many of the skills involved in intergenerational working may be important for community work in general, such facilitators often have experience of working with one particular age group but not others, hence may lack confidence in intergenerational working (Knight, 2012). Statham (2009) suggested that despite much government endorsement of IP within the UK in recent years, intergenerational practitioners have little support and guidance as resources for their practice. Knight (2012) advocated the rethinking of community spaces as potential all-age spaces and that such a mind-set could bring additional positive outcomes for participants.

There is support to suggest that the facilitators of IP, their knowledge, skills and performance are a key determinant of the success of practice. Newman (1997) was one of the first to highlight the importance of 'staff' in IP. Granville's (2002) review of UK based found that 'community champions' were one of nine key components found in successful IIP. Granville defined community champions as "people who know how to champion the IPs' merits with enthusiasm and commitment and who, with their work, galvanise and inspire other people to become involved in the programme" (2002: 13). Therefore such champions are not necessarily community members themselves but more broadly, enthusiasts for the practice. The London-based organisation, Magic Me, which has been conducting arts-based IP for over twenty years, stress the importance of well-trained and briefed staff (Langford & Mayo, 2001),.

Others have looked more specifically at *how* facilitators can help make IP successful.

Giles, Fox & Smith (1993) suggested three criteria to which intergenerational practitioners should adhere to when conducting IP. These were firstly to 1) establish realistic goals for practice; 2) ensure that intergenerational contact is seen as an appropriate intergroup encounter and 3) promote mutually beneficial communication strategies. Giles, Fox and Smith (1993) therefore saw the facilitator as someone to manage and establish the boundaries of practice.

In the UK, Martin, Springate and Atkinson (2010) highlighted a particular barrier to IP being that the work commonly involves collaboration between many different staff members and therefore making it difficult to ensure every project partners' commitment. They also suggested that partners can lack understanding of intergenerational work and lack experience of working with other age groups. This was echoed by Knight (2012) who suggested that voluntary sector practitioners need much support if they are looking to carry out IP as they may be unaware of activities, spaces or services that are suited for all ages.

Some research has also been conducted regarding the characteristics of IP facilitators. Kaplan, Larkin and Hatton-Yeo (2009) acknowledged that too often research focuses on the skills and knowledge of intergenerational practitioners rather than the characteristics and traits that help successful practice. They argued that passion, or 'the p-factor', is the most fundamental necessary characteristic of intergenerational practitioners. They illustrated through three case studies how passionate IP practitioners were able to foster

successful practice. Similarly, semi-structured interviews with Spanish IP facilitators (Sánchez, Díaz, Sáez, & Pinazo, 2014) found that being a team player, having good observational skills and being able to consider contextual analysis, and being proficient at managing resources were important characteristics. Other distinctive features of a good IP manager also included, being good at promoting contacts, social relationships, interactions and bonds.

Rosebrook, Haley and Larkin (2001) suggested that how IP practitioners respond to situations during practice reflects their philosophy or set of working principles for working with older and younger people. They called for greater “cross-training - a combination of academic, experiential opportunities and on the job training” (p.4) and argued that only those who have trained to work with a variety of ages across a range of settings can be referred to as intergenerational specialists. Here and elsewhere (Larkin & Rosebrook, 2002) there have been calls for standards and guidelines for IP to be introduced in order to ensure that appropriately qualified staff are trained and identified to facilitate IP. Previous research has highlighted the many barriers to the implementation of IP. However, research that focuses solely on evaluations of at least somewhat successful practice fails to tell us anything about how IP is perceived by those who have facilitated successful and unsuccessful practice in the past or those who are able but yet to facilitate IP.

The overwhelming majority of research has focused on evaluating the role or characteristics of IP facilitators in hindsight, evaluating practice case studies to tease out

key elements. Few studies have been conducted first-hand with intergenerational practitioners to explore their own experiences or perceptions of the practice. One study in Canada (Ayala, Hewson, Bray, Jones & Hartley, 2007) did seek to explore the perceptions of IP held by community programmers in youth and seniors' organisations. Through phone interviews with 107 programmers, identified many barriers to facilitating practice including the age segregated nature of institutions. Sanchez, Diaz, Saez and Pinazo (2014) conducted similar research in Spain. Thirty facilitators completed open-ended questionnaires about the profile and function of IP facilitators. Those characteristics highlighted as most important were: being skilled at promoting social relationships; being knowledgeable about the intergenerational field; being skilled at managing resources; having good social skills; being familiar with IP components and being skilled at strengthening partnerships.

It is evident therefore that as the IP facilitator is seen as vital to successful practice and whilst more is known about the roles facilitators play, some researchers have turned their focus towards facilitator traits and characteristics. When evaluating the role of the facilitator, an emphasis has been placed upon the practical and observable. Facilitators are inevitably a part of the broader process of conducting IP however there is little research to suggest anything about the nature of this role or how facilitators engage in IP. We know little about the knowledge and assumptions held by those who facilitate IP, except for the suggestion that facilitators are often low in confidence and skilled only in working with one generation. There remains a need to examine the social psychological

role played by facilitators, more specifically, how their understanding, assumptions and values shape the IP they facilitate and the social change desired.

2.4.5 The intergenerational practice agenda

This chapter thus far has discussed elements of IP in relation to specific projects, the types of social change they have strived to achieve and the limited research on processes or the role of facilitators. In recognition that IP is defined as a community development tool embedded with values and assumptions, it is necessary to extend attention beyond pockets of practice to the broader agenda and its role in shaping IP and the kinds of social change it strives to achieve.

Any community development agenda must not be exempt from critical investigation because to assume neutrality behind IP or any other tool and its associated terms (such as older, younger, community cohesion) is to neglect a major influence on the field – both academic and practical. Just as intergenerational contact is facilitated in settings guided by the influence of facilitators, facilitators are also working within boundaries of what is considered appropriate practice. The nature of the IP agenda is an under-researched area and to date, no authors have published work to illustrate how a particular IP demonstrates evidence of a broader agenda or its underlying assumptions. Consequently, we are left with a body of literature which examines isolated pockets of IP in a socio-cultural and political void.

Some authors have commented on the need to explore this under-researched area.

Granville (2002) commented on how IP has the potential to reinforce negative attitudes and stereotypes and expressed concern over both the lack of a strong evidence base in relation to the broad outcomes IP claims to deliver and negative outcomes from some intergenerational programs, stating that “there are many assumptions about IP that need to be tested” (p.10). Over a decade later these assumptions remain untested. Ward (1997: 137) remarked that research had yet to explore ‘linkages’ to issues raised by policy debates. He argued that the politics of young and old and issues related to intergenerational equity were no doubt an influence on the field. He summed these influence up as ‘intergenerational politics’. Many advocates of IP have contributed to a body of literature calling for both greater integration into policy and a stronger evidence-base (Melville & Bernard, 2011).

Some scholars have however contributed a more critical commentary on the influence of ‘intergenerational politics’ in the UK (Statham, 2009; Knight, 2012) and elsewhere (Larkin & Rosebrook, 2002) but nobody has yet engaged with this empirically. There appears a strong need to explicitly and empirically examine the assumptions behind IP, particularly in the UK where IP has become more established. Larkin & Rosebrook (2002) reviewed existing studies that had attempted to categorise guidelines and standards for IP in the US. They concluded that inconsistent terminology had resulted in confusion and that a consensus about what IP is and what ‘intergenerational specialists’ need to know would make for a “more compelling case for the continuation and expansion of intergenerational studies as an academic discipline” (p. 135). Through their review, Larkin

& Rosebrook (2002) identified and detailed six key guidelines and standards for IP in the US. In summary, these are that programs should: draw upon knowledge of human development across the span to ensure mutual benefit; recognise and employ effective communication to support intergenerational relationships; demonstrate a commitment to collaboration; integrate knowledge from various field including psychology, sociology, history, literature and the arts; be informed by appropriate evaluation techniques and finally, the intergenerational specialist should be a reflective, caring professional. The authors argued that until there is widespread acceptance over philosophical principles, standards of quality and measurable competencies, the field cannot effectively progress.

Recent research in the UK, appeared to be following a similar trend. Statham's (2009) article titled "Where is the evidence to inform policy and practice?" argued that if IP is to be successful, much thought needs to be given to the design of programmes otherwise they risk running unsuccessful projects "reinforcing negative ageist stereotypes and exacerbating fragile intergenerational relationships". (p471). Statham critiqued the field for failing to provide practitioners with accessible practical information on how to facilitate IP. In a search of practice guidelines she found that government websites produced little information. Furthermore, few guidelines were freely accessible and those that were available online were difficult and time-consuming to find. Statham critiqued the Department for Communities for suggesting that IP is an effective way of improving community cohesion whilst providing no practical guidance, resources or useful examples. Her recommendations included local government providing links to the Centre for IP at the very least, if not producing accessible toolkits for practitioners. Statham also

echoed Springate et al. (2008) in suggesting that more conceptual work is needed around how IP is defined. A final recommendation was that theory be much better developed and utilised and that UK community-based research needs to test underpinning theories or explore and develop new conceptual frameworks.

Since the publication of Statham's (2009) article, the number of readily accessible guides has increased but these have yet to be subject to any scrutiny. Such scrutiny is necessary to identify what assumptions and values guide facilitators. Scrutiny of the latest IP guidelines would help address concerns by many including Statham (2009), Springate (et al, 2008) and Bernard & Ellis (2004) that the field lacks conceptual clarity leading to a lack of consensus and the reinforcement of negative stereotypes.

The small body of literature that has contributed a critical commentary on the broader influences on IP could act as a foundation for empirical investigation into how such agendas shape IP in a given context. IP is well defined but is unclearly conceptualised, yet the pinnacle of this practice is arguably in the guidelines for practitioners. Such documents may address questions such as what *is* and *how to* of IP. The lack of literature regarding the influence of IP agendas can be attributed to the positivist paradigm dominating research in IP.

As demonstrated throughout this review, previous research has on the whole, sought to objectively measure micro-level outcomes and interpersonal processes. Even where qualitative methodologies have been employed to look at practice or the nature of IP

facilitation, they have aimed to collate a typology of characteristics which make practice successful rather than explore IP in context. Absent from all previous research is an exploration into how intergenerational practice is constructed. This absence is legitimized within a positivist paradigm as IP can be assumed to be objective fact rather than social construction, apolitical, neutral and value-free. As a consequence, IP is somewhat reified (transformed from a more interpretative abstract concept to something much more concrete and real), as an established and evolving field of knowledge and practice.

Kuhn's (2012) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, originally published in the 1970s and similar critical works (Berger and Luckmann, 1967) brought with them a newfound questioning of knowledge once considered objective and unbiased. The following chapter details this constructionist paradigm further in order to demonstrate how the adoption of a different epistemology may offer a more appropriate avenue into research on IP and its potential for fostering social change as well as the processes involved from facilitation to the role of the IP agenda.

2.5 Chapter conclusions and summary

In conclusion, the psychological literature on IP is largely wedded to contact theory with a narrow focus on micro-level change (improved attitudes and wellbeing) resulting from IP. Though contact theory has provided a spring-board for research into a previously under-explored prejudice, it is characterised by two key limitations. Firstly, it lacks the capacity to fully account for the complexity of IP in various real-world settings, potentially masking

the role played by economic, political and socio-cultural factors. Secondly, the ontology and epistemology underpinning both contact theory and attitude research are rooted in an individualism which has resulted in a neglect of potential of IP as a tool for community change. Previous research left a need to look beyond contact to alternative frameworks which can better account for the gaps in our knowledge. The following chapter outlines a critical social psychological framework and how this can address such gaps.

3 Towards a more critical perspective on intergenerational practice and social change

“There is nothing so practical as a good theory”

- Kurt Lewin

3.1 Chapter overview

The previous chapter highlighted how mainstream psychological theories such as the contact hypothesis are too reductionist to account for any outcomes resulting from IP.

This chapter outlines a rationale for a turn towards a more critical psychological perspective which includes a clearer and more holistic conceptualisation of social change.

The main focus of this chapter is a discussion of how critical social psychology can better address questions regarding social change. More specifically, the theory of social representations is introduced as a more appropriate theoretical tool to understanding the nature of IP.

3.2 Intergenerational practice and social change

A common thread and major limitation of previous research in IP is that epistemologically it has examined IP as an intervention directed at changing individual behaviour, despite the community mobilisation ethos inherent in the definitions of IP. Where the individual

is the unit of analysis, too often, the broader meso and macro level influences which facilitate and limit social change are neglected. Those researching IP have too often been asking the wrong questions, focusing on if a given individual outcome has been achieved rather than what can and cannot be achieved through IP and how?

The previous chapter illustrated how despite numerous calls to examine how IP works (e.g. Bernard & Ellis, 2004) research is both highly outcome oriented and also highly focused on individual-level change. Previous research on IP is characterised by a failure to capture the social in social change, due to a reliance of theories and methodologies wedded to a positivist epistemology. There is need to explore alternative ways of knowing, epistemological approaches to IP which can begin to examine the social in social change.

Furthermore, there is a need to examine the potential of IP for addressing social change on levels beyond the individual or micro-level factors. In Chapter One, IP was introduced as a community development tool with aims to promote health, wellbeing and community cohesion. Subsequently, I outlined some of the key micro, meso and macro-level issues and concerns facing older and younger people in disadvantaged areas of the UK. Whilst the aims of IP and ambitions for social change appear to be broad, most previous research has either focused on explaining micro-level or individual change (as discussed in the previous chapter) predominately attitude change.

3.3 The potential of intergenerational practice: community mobilisation and social change

Intergenerational practice, though defined as a community development tool, has not been approached as such by most scholars to date. The community development and community-led change rhetoric within IP definitions is not apparent within the theories underpinning practice research. Research on other community mobilisation programmes and practices may offer an insight into the potential of IP as a tool for social change. Acknowledgement of IP as community mobilisation tool would enable the practice to benefit from what we already know about the community mobilisation approaches and help provide a better framework with which to study the practice empirically.

Campbell and Cornish (2010) identify a community mobilisation approach to change as one of three 'generations' of approaches to behaviour change in the context of HIV/AIDS interventions. The authors also proposed a more effective and more socially sensitive fourth generation approach. These approaches ranged from a top-down information provision or 'awareness' raising, through peer-based to a community mobilisation approaches which aims to change behaviour through whole community interventions targeting the development of health enhancing norms. The approaches range from more individualistic apolitical approaches to behaviour change (akin to the approach taken in IP research to date) to more political and community oriented approaches.

Campbell and Cornish (2010) argued that only the latter are effective in the long-term and even then community mobilization approaches need support from both outside and within. Similarly, Maoz (2012) examined four models of social change in encounters between Israeli Jews and Palestinians. The main thrust of Maoz's argument was that the classic contact approach, the coexistence model to social change focused on inter-group interaction between participants, supporting the status quo and existing in a cultural and political vacuum. The bulk of previous psychological research on IP appears to fall within this model of social change.

In the joint projects model, commonalities are emphasised through the facilitation of mutually enjoyable activities and the confrontational model expands on this to encourage discussions about conflict and inequality between the groups. It is the fourth narrative-story-telling model that Maoz argued had the greatest potential for fostering actual and lasting social change. This model "combines interpersonal interaction with interaction through group identities and the forming of personal ties with discussions of the conflict and of power relations" (p. 278) but also does not explicitly aim at any broader structural change.

Community mobilisation approaches explicitly recognise that social issues at the micro, meso and macro levels are all interconnected (Campbell and Cornish, 2010). The main implication for IP being that attitude change (a micro or individual level issue) cannot be challenged effectively without efforts to challenge the systems that support those attitudes at the community and societal level.

It is the macro-level challenges (such as poverty, inequality and societal stereotypes) that are most often neglected in discussions of community mobilisation. Most community health promotion initiatives, whilst empowering particular community groups to make changes which will positively impact on their individual health and wellbeing, lack the power and resources to tackle broader structural inequalities such as poverty and societal exclusion (Cornish and Ghosh, 2007). Those scholars who adopt a more critical community approach, have recognised these limitations and strive to find ways to include those in more powerful positions in attempts to promote lasting change. Such discussions on how to approach these broader macro-level challenges facing older and younger people are notably absent from the IP literature.

3.4 The root of the problem: a neglect of the social in social change

The neglect of the social in social change refers both to the epistemology of previous IP research, in examining the individual in isolation and also to the absence of interest in the connections between individual, community and societal level social change. The focus on the individual is characteristic of mainstream psychology, most evident in the US (Gergen, 1973). In striving to be objective, to operationalise concepts into the best combination of variables and to identify the most reliable measures of outcomes, mainstream social psychology is ill-equipped to capture any social change resulting from IP including the individual level change it predominately sets out to explain.

Social psychology has for some time been a divided discipline. During the 1970s a series of papers were published expressing discontent at the “fetishism of laboratory experimentation” (Augoustinos, Walker & Donague, 2014: 5) as well as its epistemological assumptions that human beings are subject to the same universality that is evident in other sciences such as chemistry, biology and physics. Gergen (1973) argued that psychology cannot work with the same methods and epistemological underpinnings as such other sciences as human beings are complex and inevitably shaped by diverse and dynamic cultures, social contexts and histories. More recently, in a similar vein Stam (2006: 589) stated that “the inability to articulate the *social* in social psychology has meant that the discipline has been *all* psychology, *all* of the time”. The crisis in social psychology was characterised by a loss of enthusiasm, sense of identity and faith in the future of the discipline (Elms, 1975). Since the 1970s, social psychology has been a discipline characterised by two camps of scholars, those who remain wedded to a social psychology characterised by laboratory methods and the application of universal laws and those who instead recognise and attempt to account for the complexity of human thinking and behaviour in its various socio-cultural and historical contexts. Gergen (1996) argued that this individualism within social psychology (and the discipline more broadly) was fuelled by the cognitive revolution. Dafermos (2015) more recently analysed what he considered to be different dimensions of the crisis in social psychology and argued that the crisis is far from resolved and is in fact continuing and deepening.

Doise’s (1986) levels of analysis in social psychology was first published during the emergence of the crisis in social psychology and offers a framework to help understand

why both research and practice have placed emphasis on individual outcomes and indicators of change. Doise's (1986) first level of analysis, the intra-personal level referred to analysis of individual information processing, perceptions and attitudes. Doise (1986) argued that too much of social psychology is preoccupied with analysis at this level. The second level of analysis, the inter-personal level is concerned with how the behaviour of others affects individuals. The positional level of analysis refers to how group membership and social status influence individuals and the fourth level, the ideological level, refers to broader values and ideas and how they both influence and are shaped by individuals. Clearly much research on the effects of intergenerational contact has occupied the first two levels, the intra-personal and inter-personal levels of analysis and neglected the positional and ideological levels. These first two levels of analysis may be suited to the study of IP only when the individual is considered to be the only unit of change however to fully understand the mechanisms involved in IP, this is too reductionist an approach. In order to understand the complexity of any individual changes in attitudes and wellbeing, and any community level changes such as increased community cohesion, a positional or ideological level of analysis needs to also be addressed as this would take account of wider influences such as power relations, status and ideology. Intergenerational contact examined through Doise's positional and ideological levels is far from a tokenistic encounter between those labelled young and old but instead recognises and makes explicit the different social positions held by group members. Doise's (1986) levels are a good starting point for illustrating the limits of social

psychological approaches focused on the individual with a neglect of wider levels of change and broader social influences.

Without attention to wider levels of analysis, IP research can at best seek to explain factors contributing to isolated micro-level change (e.g. changes in individual health, wellbeing and attitude) and at worst neglect to consider the role that wider macro-social inequalities (e.g. access to resources) play in perpetuating micro and meso level problems.

3.5 Alternatives to the contact hypothesis: social explanations

In contrast to the overly individualistic approaches to the study of IP discussed up until this point, others have adopted alternative psychological or sociological approaches, drawing upon life-course theories or examining the social impact of IP, (e.g. Newman et al, 1997; Larkin, Friedlander, Newman & Goff, 2004; Estes, Biggs & Phillipson, 2003; Biggs & Lowenstein, 2011). Scholars involved in such discussions have made references to life stages (William & Nussaum, 2001), the intergenerational contract (Myles, 2003) and generational tensions (Vanderbeck, 2007).

Erikson's (1959) life-span developmental perspective has been influential both within and outside of psychology. It is frequently drawn upon by gerontologists (Kuehne & Melville, 2014) and alongside intergroup contact theory is the most frequently cited theory within IP evaluations (Jarrott, 2011; Kuehne & Melville, 2014). Like contact theories (discussed in

Chapter 2), it offers an accessible explanation for processes involved in IP. Erikson's (1959) model consists of eight distinct linear stages of development through which humans are said to progress from birth to death. These stages are psychosocial and successful transitions through each stage is dependent upon the person gaining different virtues such as purpose, competence and fidelity during childhood and also love care and wisdom in later life.

Erikson's later stages of human development in particular have received criticism from scholars writing about IP, who have argued that they are too reductionist and determinist (Kuehne & Melville, 2014). Erikson's ultimate and ideal final stage in life is described as that of integrity. It presents the ideal virtue as being wisdom and an ability to look back on life with closure and completeness. The assumptions made about older people contrast with some definitions of IP, namely those which have emphasised a desire to learn and remain active in later life (Beth Johnson Foundation, 2011). Many IP scholars have drawn upon Erikson's theory as it is said to highlight the parallel needs between older and younger people which results in a synergy between them (Newman & Hatton-Yeo, 2008). Yet the allocation of individuals to fixed stages in life based on their chronological age is arguably too deterministic an approach. Even were Erikson's stages of development appear to accurately reflect the values and goals of younger and older people, the theory says little about how practice works to promote social change, at best offering a rationale for IP.

Biggs and Lowenstein (2011) more recently have offered a critical insight into how IP might work to achieve social change. Their book *Generational Intelligence* draws upon (and also critiques) ideas from some of the dominant life course perspectives. They acknowledge that IP may have once been about bringing old and young together yet shifted towards an interest in encouraging every generation to make an active contribution to their community. Biggs and Lowenstein are strong advocates of IP as a means of increasing civic participation and health for all generations and suggested that IP is a method to create a society for all ages. For Biggs and Lowenstein, IP or intergenerational contact more specifically is a tool for achieving generational intelligence - an understanding of another age-perspective. This age-difference, they argue, is 'socially signified' meaning that it is derived from phenomenological experience of age rather than chronological number of years lived and it is this perceived difference that creates a barrier to mutual understanding and also a rationale for IP. Biggs and Lowenstein suggest that IP fosters generational intelligence through four steps. The first is gaining awareness of oneself and the other generation. The second is developing understanding of the relationship between self and the other. The third requires exploring and understanding the power dynamics of intergenerational relationships and the assumptions driving expectations. The final stage involves generationally intelligent action. Such action is informed by the value stances identified and needs to be negotiated and sustained. Within action, critical spaces may emerge within which activities and roles can be questioned and negotiated.

The generational intelligence model is one of the few sociological models of IP which attempts to understand how social change occurs rather than just the societal consequences of such change. This model connects closer than others to the individual and community processes involved in achieving social change, recognising the generations involved in IP as active agents in any social change. The model is however problematic as there is little theoretical room for understanding group dynamics within the steps towards achieving generational intelligence. The model assumes that the development of generational intelligence is an inter-personal process, bound up in wider power dynamics. Its value and originality lies in its recognition that self and other are constructed and are bound in a power dynamic, yet this does not account for the social dynamics both among the older and younger generations. Biggs and Lowenstein suggest that the concept of *generation* is phenomenologically experienced and constructed but they do not account for the interplay between the individual and the social.

To offer an example, two or three older people within an IP may identify as being grandparents, that may be their phenomenological experience of self and they may draw upon this to help in understanding their own relationships with the participating younger generation. Other older participants may not have children, grandchildren or may have no contact with their grandchildren; their phenomenological experiences of self will all be unique. Taking the sole feature of grandparenthood alone, and putting aside for now the many other dimensions of self, an older person may experience IP differently if all participants are grandparents or if they are the only grandparent in the group. Self is

therefore relational and dependent upon others; phenomenological experience of self is not an event which precedes inter-personal interaction.

Though Biggs and Lowenstein make important steps towards connecting individual experience and wider contextual influences at play in IP, an understanding of social change through phenomenology and power alone is insufficient to understanding the links between different levels of social change as there is little room to accommodate the social dimensions of self and other.

The broader more sociological literature has been unable to connect with and has been largely disinterested in the individuals who implement or participate in practice, stripping them of any agency in favour of a narrower focus on macro-social processes. In summary, both life course and gerontological explanations for IP have been unable to account for the individual within the social, favouring a societal approach to which loses sight of the role of individuals and communities in achieving social change at any level.

3.6 The individual as social and the social as individual: Towards a more critical perspective on intergenerational practice and social change

In attempting to understand how IP attempts to promote positive social change there is an alternative to the broader macro-social approaches discussed above and the overly-individualist approaches adopted within mainstream psychology. What follows is a

discussion of critical perspectives within psychology and how their assumptions differ from mainstream approaches. Through this discussion, I aim to demonstrate the appropriateness of a critical perspective for addressing questions about the relationship between IP and social change.

Asplund (1983) argued that social psychology is neither about individuals nor society but the space in between. More specifically he stated:

“Consider the formula ‘individual/society’. What I am trying to say is that social psychology is – or should be – a science on the slash between individual and society. If this were so, it would be a science neither about the wall nor the cracks, but about the cracks in the wall” (Asplund, 1983: 62. cited in Johansson, 2000)

In other words, a focus should neither be on society as a whole nor on individuals in isolation but on individuals in the context of their immediate communities and wider society.

3.6.1 Critical ‘psychologies’

Different critical sub-disciplines of psychology have expanded and diversified since the turn of the 21st Century (Gough, McFadden & McDonald, 2013). In this section, by ‘critical psychologies’, I refer to critical health psychology, critical social psychology and

community health psychology which despite distinct definitions and focuses, share many of the same broader assumptions and values.

Critical health psychology emerged when scholars became increasingly disheartened with a reliance on socio-cognitive models as a means of understanding health and illness (Murray, 2004). A common aim of critical health psychology has been to “reorient the discipline away from a focus on measuring individual characteristics to a concern with more dynamic social psychological, socio-political and socio-cultural processes” (Murray, 2010; 39). Critical health psychology instead acknowledges the influence macro-societal structures such as social class, gender and age on the health and wellbeing of individuals and communities and therefore engages in a broader social critique. This sub-discipline has seen substantial growth over the past two decades (Murray, 2015) promoting various theoretical, methodological and practice ideas including community health psychology (Campbell, 2015) which is concerned with challenging health inequalities through community health practice. Understanding of the potential of IP as a community health practice appears primitive compared to other practices which have received attention from community health psychology. One example which has benefited from such attention is an analysis of the potential of HIV/AIDS interventions to facilitate change (Campbell & Cornish, 2010). Campbell and Cornish (2010) critically evaluated different approaches to behaviour change in order to understanding the connection between these approaches and the health improvements they sought to achieve. It is this attention to multiple levels of change which allows insight into the reach of a given community development tool.

Critical social psychology similarly arose as a critique to a mainstream social psychology dominated by overly operationalised research, cognitive and experimental traditions (Gough et al, 2013). Critical social psychology is influenced by Marxism, feminism and social constructionism, and engages with contemporary issues such as social inequalities, power and resistance (Gough et al, 2013). Its commitment to engaging with contemporary social issues to understand the social construction of reality makes it an appropriate lens through which to explore the nature of IP, its outcomes, processes and agenda.

A number of theories are prominent within critical social psychology. Many of these examine language as a means of exploring the nature of interaction, subjectivity and power in relation to social issues. Discourse analysis and its variations (critical discourse analysis and Foucauldian discourse analysis) in particular have been popular since the turn to language in social psychology (Gough et al, 2013). The turn to discourse (Harre, 1995) acted as a break away from the positivism of the mainstream. Despite being a popular alternative, discourse analysis is limited due to its tendency to decontextualize information and inability to examine data beyond text (Valverde, 2000). It also received critique for neglecting resistance, agency and social structures (Spicer & Fleming, 2001; Murray & Campbell, 2003) the relevance for IP is apparent when considering the *practice* in intergenerational practice. IP is an action oriented tool for change and hence a study of it requires theoretical and methodological tools appropriate for the study of action, social structures, resistance and agency in text and beyond.

3.7 The theory of social representations

The theory of social representations (Moscovici, 1988) is a modern theory of both social knowledge and social change (Howarth, 2006). As a theory that developed within the European social psychological tradition, it aligns with the view of social psychology as a social science (Moscovici, 1988) in contrast to the dominant approach to social psychology as a natural science more common in North America. Social representations, unlike attitudes which have been defined as the result of individual thinking, are the product of social interaction, communication, action and processes of social influence.

Moscovici (1976: xiii) defines a social representation as:

“a system of values, ideas and practices with a twofold function: first, to establish an order which will enable individuals to orientate themselves in their material and social world and to master it; secondly to enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange and a code for naming and classifying unambiguously the various aspects of their world and their individual and group history”

Therefore social representations clearly serve a communicative function, whereas attitudes are referred to as individual preferences (Sutton & Douglas, 2013) social representations serve a purpose. Some scholars within critical social psychology, critiqued the theory of social representations for being too cognitive in nature (Potter & Edwards, 1999) however in doing so, critics have ignored the dialogical nature of representations -

that they emerge in communication, only existing in a relational encounter and are therefore dependent on an awareness of self and other in relation to the object represented (Markova, 2003).

The theory of social representations is also a theory of social change in two regards. Firstly, it assumes that as a communicative code, social representations are dynamic, context specific and can either be drawn upon or resisted. Secondly, its sensitivity to context and communication lends it to appropriately explore issues of power and resistance. Critics have claimed that the theory of social representations neglects issues of power (Potter & Billig, 1992) however it is appropriate for addressing questions of whose knowledge is granted legitimacy and whose is oppressed or ignored. In doing so, the theory addresses issues of power, agency and resistance. It is the malleable nature of a social representation which most prominently distinguishes it from the notion of a discourse (Howarth, 2006). The latter is better placed to explore macro-level phenomena while the former can explore different levels of social change and the connections between them.

The assumptions about the social origin and function of knowledge made the theory of social representations an appropriate tool for exploring how IP promotes positive social change. In line with more specific research questions outlined in chapter one, the following sections show more specifically how the theory of social representations is equipped to explore the nature of the outcomes of IP, practice processes and facilitations as well as IP agendas.

3.7.1 Antinomies and themata: the root of social representations

Social representations are a communicative tool which aim to make familiar the unfamiliar (Moscovici, 1984). They help individuals to collectively understand and make sense of the world around them. Moscovici (1992) proposed that all common sense thinking and therefore all social representations have their basis in themata. Themata are simplistic binary oppositions or antinomies such as good/bad, clean/dirty and self/other which are deeply rooted in culture (Markova, 2003). These pairs of antinomies or themata (thema in the singular) serve to help make sense of issues in the social world (Joffe, 2015). Themata are evident in language and in action though are often less explicit than the social representations they underpin (Markova, 2003; Moloney, Gamble, Hayman & Smith, 2015). Furthermore, a social representation may be underpinned by several themata, or a single thema may be at the root of a diverse representational field or multiple representational fields (Joffe, 2015).

The thema of self/other in particular, has been shown to underpin social representations in a variety of contexts where identity plays a prominent role in making sense of social issues. Social representations in this instance may serve a protective function, defending identity or self by projecting the unfamiliar threat onto the 'other' (Howarth, 2002). Joffe (1999) found for example, that the association of HIV/AIDS with homosexual men served to project the threat of the disease onto those seen as 'unclean others'. Similarly, in exploring social representations of the financial crisis in Ireland, O'Connor (2012) found that blame was projected onto the powerful other. Moloney et al (2015) also found a

thema of self/other at the root of social representations of blood donation however their study revealed a broad fragmented representational field within which the underpinning thema of self/other was much more implicit. *Self* was seen to manifest as needles, pain and anxiety whilst *other* manifest as helping and saving lives. This research demonstrated how themata are not necessarily explicit in social representations, they are instead latent drivers of social knowledge (Smith & Joffe, 2013) and have also showed how the self/other thema in particular may serve a protective function in relation to identity.

3.7.2 Anchoring and objectification: the formation of social representations

New social representations emerge when trying to make sense of new objects or when existing meanings no longer fit. Anchoring and objectification are processes by which social representations are formed, they are the processes involved in sense making. As a relatively new concept and form of practice, IP may be better understood by examining the processes by which it has been incorporated into social knowledge.

Anchoring is the process by which new phenomena are integrated into the existing world (Flick, 1995). Phenomena may be anchored again and again. Flick described the process as “a kind of cultural assimilation”. Moscovici (1984:32) stated that “to anchor is, thus, to classify and to name something”. Importantly, such classification is not a purely cognitive process, it is a social process which draws individuals into the culture of a group (Flick, 1995). Anchoring may occur through a number of different means, through: ascribing the phenomena a name; creating an emotional attachment; or through connecting a

phenomena with themes or themata (Hoijer, 2011) Whichever mechanism is employed, anchoring enables the unfamiliar to be categorised and understood (Flick, 1995). Hoijer (2011) argued that more controversial social representations are often found to be anchored in themata – this being the root of the controversy or tension.

Objectification is a more active process than anchoring and is the process by which images or symbols are used to make an abstract idea more concrete. This might involve pictures of complex ideas being personified or anthropomorphised. Bauer and Gaskell (1999) highlighted the example of ‘Dolly the sheep’ used by the media to objectify modern biotechnology. Metaphors may also be used in the process of objectification. Asplund (2011) found that in social representations of climate change, the metaphor of the greenhouse, war or a game were employed in order to make sense of the phenomena. Moscovici (1984) proposed a series of steps within which objectification occurs. The first step involves the discovery of the iconic quality of the new phenomena, which is then converted into something abstract such as an image or symbol. This is then integrated into a complex of images symbolizing a complex of ideas. Many new ideas and phenomena are first objectified by the media (Flick, 1999: Hoijer, 2011) resulting in societal images and stereotypes which may be harder for individuals and communities to subsequently resist.

Often an understanding of how objectification has helped the formation of social representations, aids an understanding of power and legitimacy in social knowledge. Flick (1995) stated that when a new phenomenon is the result of a scientific progress (rather

than a progress in a lay community) a different and more concrete level of objectification is observed. Such knowledge is reified or legitimised more easily.

In summary, the theory of social representations is equipped to examine not only the contents of knowledge (understanding or social representations) but also the processes by which such knowledge is created and negotiated in different contexts. It is an absence of exploration of the social processes involved in social change which have hindered previous research on IP. The following sections examine in more detail the appropriateness of the theory of social representations for the study of the relationship between IP and social change.

3.7.3 Intergenerational practice agendas: understanding reified knowledge

The previous chapter outlined a rationale for examining IP beyond contact, turning among other factors to IP agendas, values and assumptions. Several authors (e.g., Granville, 2002; Bernard & Ellis, 2006) have argued that without attention to the assumptions underpinning IP, best practice cannot be conceptualised. One reason why these assumptions remained underexplored may be because IP may have assumed a degree of objectivity. IP may be assumed to be a field of knowledge – a science even, value free and immune to human subjectivity. Within a critical social psychological frame and through the theory of social representations such assumptions and values can be questioned. Kuhn's (2012) classic study on the social construction of science was one of the first examples of exploration into the role of subjectivity in the development of

scientific knowledge. Kuhn, a former physicist, is often credited with introducing the notion that science, its theories and methods are indeed human interpretations rather than objective truths waiting to be discovered.

The theory of social representations was traditionally concerned with ‘common-sense’ knowledge and how reified knowledge filters down from the scientific world into public understanding. Moscovici aimed to “rehabilitate common thinking and common knowledge” (2000). He distinguished between a reified universe – containing objective and scientific knowledge and a consensual universe – containing negotiated and common understandings. Common-sense was described as the *vulgarisation* of science (2000: 228). Social representations are acknowledged to exist in both consensual and reified universes. A growing body of literature has sought to explore the social representations evident in systems of knowledge that were once assumed to be objective or value-free (Bangerter, 1995). The extent to which scientific knowledge is considered a continuum of common-sense is still debated (Moscovici 2000) however increased empirical and theoretical attention demonstrates the critical potential of the theory of social representations. Purkhardt and Stockdale (1993) argued that Moscovici did not take his thesis on the public understanding of psychoanalysis far enough, in that he did not allow for the idea that scientific knowledge, (psychoanalysis in this instance) is just as socially constructed as common-sense knowledge. In later work however, Moscovici (1998) clarified his stance on science and common sense and proposed that social representations can and do permeate different realms of knowledge both scientific and common.

More recently, some scholars have begun to explore not only social representations *of* scientific knowledge but social representations *in* scientific knowledge. Critics of the theory have asserted that social representations are unable to conceptualise power (Potter & Billig, 1992) although Howarth (2006) has discussed their critical potential. In particular Howarth highlighted the theory's capacity to examine more legitimised as well as more lay systems of knowledge.

IP is a practice becoming increasingly legitimised through greater development and investment. In order to understanding how the relationship between IP and social change there is a need to understand the assumptions and values which inform such practice development. Similar calls had been made in the past (Granville, 2002; Bernard & Ellis, 2004; Statham, 2012) but were yet to be addressed. Without such examination IP would continue to expand with little knowledge of how it seeks to promote social change for individuals, communities and society. There is a need therefore to examine the values and assumptions within more formalised accounts of IP, accounts that drive action and serve to legitimise IP as an effective tool for positive social change. The theory of social representations offers an appropriate theoretical framework with which to address such reified systems of knowledge.

3.7.4 Practice processes, facilitation, power and expert knowledge

As discussed, social representations theory acknowledges the dynamic nature of knowledge, that it is dialogical and serves a communicative function. As such it is a

socially sensitive theory with the capacity to examine the construction and circulation of ideas in different contexts. It is this socially sensitive nature of social representations theory which lends itself to the study of IP. Ideas not only guide action but are evident in action.

Social representations theory is equipped to explore more than outcomes of practice as we can look beyond the content of representations circulating among IP participants in intergenerational projects and cast a wider net which includes an exploration of IP processes and the nature of practice facilitation. The theory of social representations shifts away from universal practice models and towards an emphasis on context and culture. It has been stated here that social representations are a precondition for attitudes. Echebarria-Echabe (2014) suggested that in considering intergroup relationships, it is also important to consider that culture and ideology are a precondition for social representations. Having neglected the role of social representations, ideology and culture, previous research was unable to fully account for social change promoted through IP. Social representations theory has the potential to account for intra-personal, interpersonal, positional and ideological levels of phenomena (as outlined by Doise, 1980) and consequently explore the relationship between IP and social change at the individual, community and societal level.

Though social representations are most frequently identified through analyses of text, and language, an increasing amount of research has examined social representations in action through observation and ethnographic methods. Jodelet's (1991) research

demonstrated how inhabitants of a French village who lived alongside mentally ill individuals, distanced themselves from those deemed 'other' and represented the mentally ill patients as 'mad'. In making sense of their 'mad' lodgers, the villagers' social representations were objectified in metaphors linked to dairy. They described the patients as having 'turned sour' and other similar metaphors in attempt to make concrete the abstract notion of ill mental health. The villagers' social representations were also evident in their actions, in how they subtly created segregated physical spaces within the home for those who were mentally well and unwell.

Tuval and Orr (2009) in a more recently study, observed similar practices of stratification in relation to disabled pupils in schools in Israel. They used mixed qualitative methods to observe processes of inclusion and stratification by teachers within the schools. Analysis of interviews with teachers revealed themes of inclusion, teachers made references to how all pupils are treated equally regardless of disability .Observations of teachers in action within classrooms, however, revealed a contradictory theme of stratification. Teachers were observed to physically segregate disabled pupils and exclude them from participation in some activities. Both this study and Jodelet's (1991) demonstrate how social representations of a given phenomenon are not constructed through actions as well as talk and text.

Social representations also enable engagement with power, empowerment and resistance. Howarth (2006) described the critical potential of the theory of social representations and called for more engagement with the relationship between

psychological processes and social practices, the reification and legitimization of different knowledge systems and also issues of agency and resistance. Social representation theory has been employed by those working in community settings (e.g., Jovchelovitch, 2007; Murray & Crummett, 2010) to account for socio-cultural influences on social change within communities. Issues of power can be examined not only from the standpoint of the disempowered but also the powerful. Systems of values, ideas and practices have been examined among those in positions of power, influence or respect such as health professionals (Flick, 2009), social care professionals (Renedo & Jovchelovitch, 2007) or community workers (Murray & Zeigler, 2015). Such studies have offered insights into representations of communities held by key figures who may play a role in legitimizing or oppressing the knowledge held by community members. Such examples illustrate how the theory of social representations might shed light on the relationship between IP and levels of social change.

Previous research regarding the facilitation of IP (discussed in the previous chapter) had rarely engaged with the notion that facilitators' knowledge, ideas and values could have a role in shaping IP. This resulted in an understanding of the practical roles played by IP facilitators but little understanding of how their position of power may serve to shape the nature of practice and the kinds of social change a particular IP strives to achieve.

3.7.5 Intergenerational practice in action: understanding the social in social change

Dorfman et al's (2004) study of intergenerational service-learning is a relatively early example of efforts to combine methods to gain a more detailed insight into the effects of IP on students' attitudes towards older people. The authors combined standardised measures of attitudes with open-ended survey questions. The open-ended questions asked about what students' anticipated intergenerational service learning would be like as well as students' attitudes towards their own ageing. Examining different cohorts of students, they found that some showed significant attitude changes following IP and some did not. By revealing differences between whole cohorts of students, Dorfman et al (2004) supported the idea that social change is dependent upon changes in broader socially shared representations rather than individually held attitudes. For some cohorts of students, the dynamic and culture of both the group and the older volunteers, and the specific temporal-spatial context may have allowed opportunities for the students to collectively construct more positive images of older people than in other cohorts.

What makes the theory of social representations particularly suited to the study of IP in action is how it distinguishes social representations from attitudes. In the previous chapter I discussed the problematic nature of attitudes. Moscovici (1988) did not reject the notion of attitudes but rather emphasised how attitudes are dependent upon social representations. He explained "we can become favourable or unfavourable towards something only after we have perceived and evaluated it in a different way". The

relationship between social representations and attitudes has continued to be a point of debate however the consensus is that social representations are a precondition of attitudes (Echebarria-Echabe, 2014).

Finally, the theory of social representations is appropriate for the study of IP in action due to its capacity to examine processes of social participation. Campbell and Jovchelovitch (2000: 269) stated that “Through participation, a community states and negotiates identities and social representations, which are, in turn, shaped and constrained by the material and symbolic power relations in which they are located”. It therefore follows that through the study of participation, the processes by which a community negotiates identities and representations can be examined. Campbell and Jovechelovitch (2000) draw upon Freire’s concept of critical consciousness, a concept commonly employed in understanding community change in other parts of the globe but less so in the UK and US. Critical consciousness refers to an awareness of the broader conditions within which we live, those which oppress up and liberate ourselves and the people around us. Martin-Baro (1994) highlighted the importance of the process of critical consciousness for personal growth, community organisation and social transformation. Socially sensitive theories such as the theory of social representations are able to capture the construction of group and community representations and how these contribute to or challenge macro-societal representations through critical conscientization.

In summary the theory of social representations is apt for understanding IP in action as it looks beyond the attitude, to the context and culture within which knowledge is

constructed. Furthermore it looks to issues of power and oppression to recognise where and when knowledge is oppressed or legitimised so that within action or social participation, critical conscientization can be sought.

3.8 Social representations within intergenerational practice: a theoretical framework

My theoretical framework therefore falls within critical social psychological approach. In doing so it aimed to address the limitations of previous research on IP and social change which had mostly adopted a mainstream social psychological approach. Whilst the operates works within a positivist epistemology and is primarily concerned with the operationalisation of constructs into variables to be measured objectively, the former is more concerned with capturing social context and socially constructed nature of the world. The theory of social representations was employed to address the research aims of examining the relationship between IP and social change. More specifically the theory was employed as a framework to address the overarching research question of ‘What are the social representations that underpin text, talk and action in the field of IP?’.

As a theory of both social knowledge and social change (Howarth, 2006) the theory of social representations is appropriate in exploring both what IP is and how IP works. A fundamental value of the theory is its recognition of knowledge as social in origin, as dialogical. More specifically, it recognises that social representations shape reified as well as lay knowledge. It can be used to examine issues of power and the legitimisation of

different forms of knowledge. Furthermore it recognises that social representations are evident in action and that actions help to shape social representations.

The theory of social representations was therefore employed as a theoretical tool with which to understand IP as a newly established form of practice with ambitious aims of positive social change.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the focus of my theoretical lens. The diagram depicts how the theory of social representations underpins not just the study of IP itself (the innermost circle) but also the study of broader processes, influences and values. The following chapter outlines the methodology used to investigate these three key elements of IP.

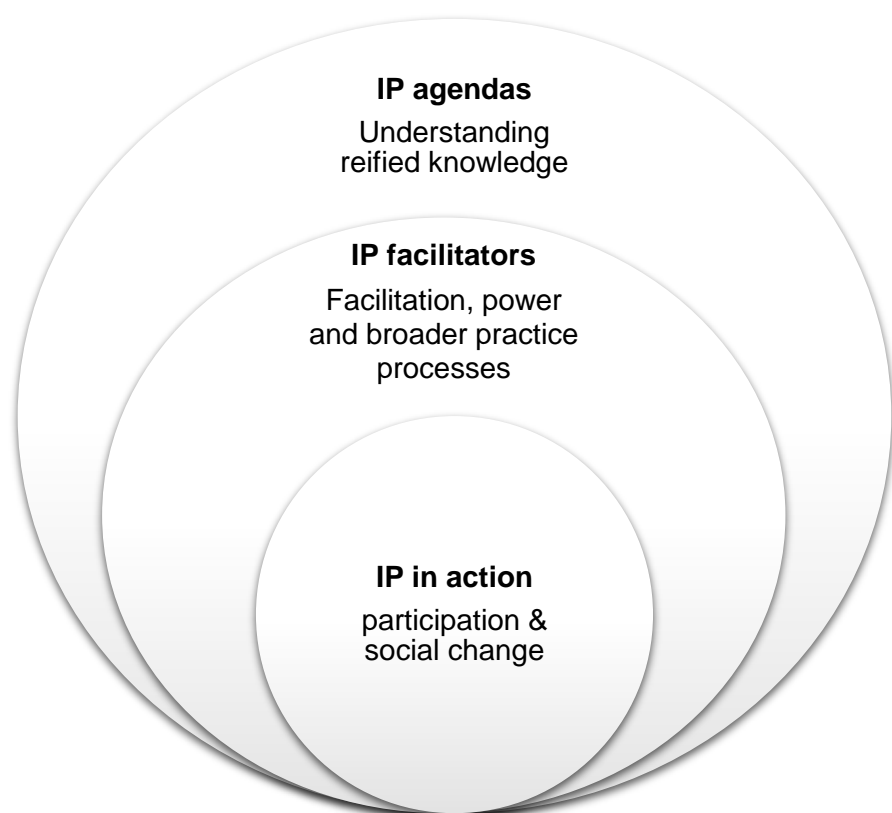


Figure 3.1 The lens of my theoretical framework, focused on IP in action as well as broader influences (i.e. IP facilitators and agendas)

3.9 Chapter summary

This chapter began with a critique of both mainstream psychological and sociological approaches to the study of IP. I argued that the former attempted to study IP through isolating the individual and individual-level change from the immediate and macro-social context and the latter failed to sufficiently engage with individual and meso-level processes. I proposed a move towards a more critical approach to IP and social change in which the individual is regarded as social and the social as individual. Without such an approach, the capacity of IP as a tool for change is unclear. Such a shift in was necessary in order to address the research aims of examining the relationship between IP and social change. Critical social psychology offered an appropriate alternative to address this question. More specifically the theory of social representations was presented as a tool with which to understand IP and how it works. The theory of social representations is able to account for the social in social change in two key ways. Firstly, it acknowledges the social nature of social knowledge. Secondly, its context sensitivity allows it to underpin an examination of individual, community and macro-social change as well as identify the connections between these, highlighted barriers and opportunities at all levels.

4 Methodology

“The power to question is the basis of all human progress”

-Indira Gandhi

4.1 Chapter overview

This chapter provides an overview of the methodological features of this research. I discuss the social constructionist epistemology, use of qualitative methods and thematic analysis. The critical social psychological framework introduced in the previous chapter underpins three studies which are outlined here. This chapter offers an introduction to each of these studies and a discussion of the research methods employed. The final section brings these three studies together to illustrate how my methodological framework: an exploration of IP in text, talk and in action, was appropriate to address the question of how IP attempts to promote positive social change.

4.2 Ontological and epistemological position

The previous chapters have illustrated how research examining how IP and social change is largely dominated by realist assumptions and positivist observations of social change. Here I argued that research through this lens has not been able to offer a full and socially sensitive account of IP and social change. Previous research was hindered by reductionist theories such as the contact hypothesis, which reduce intergenerational *practice* to intergenerational *contact* and methods such as standardised attitude questionnaires

which, both of which neglect context and an understanding of processes in favour of ease of measurement and generalisability. As a result an alternative, more critical theoretical framework was proposed in order to address the question of how IP attempts to promote positive social change.

The broad range of mixed qualitative methods employed in the current research design all fall within a critical realist ontology, in that the research worked with the assumption that age and many of the consequences of youth or old age are a part of an objective reality however within that, multiple realities are subjectively experienced and constructed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Epistemologically, a critical paradigm (grounded in Marxism, feminism and postmodernism) was adopted. This paradigm acknowledged the material, structural and symbolic determinants of lived realities, as well as a need to adopt emancipatory research methods and methods which focus on how realities are produced and enacted in different socio-historical contexts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The reasoning for this paradigm was driven by a need to understand how IP attempts to promote positive social change through an approach which encompassed wider practice processes and social agents beyond the intergenerational encounter alone.

Methodological individualism and universal claims to truth were rejected based on the limitations evident from previous research on IP and social change discussed in Chapter Two. Instead this thesis adopted the stance that knowledge is social and value-laden (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) hence, the constructs which concern this work such as age, ageism, loneliness and wellbeing are claimed to be relative and subject to interpretation,

rather than being fixed objective truths. A social constructionist orientation allowed IP to be looked upon not as a fixed, stable and reified practice but rather as a dynamic, relative and evolving social construction, in continual cycles of construction and interpretation by those social actors who encounter it. Consequently, when knowledge is understood as socially constructed, it is recognised that different systems of knowledge hold different status and power within different contexts. The question of “whose truth is given priority?” (Sugiman, Gergen, Wagner & Yamada, 2008) comes into focus and whilst some truths are reified and legitimised whilst others are deligitimised.

The theory of social representations sits within this orientation. Whereas some have described the theory as taking a “weak social constructionist” standpoint (Maloney & Walker, 2002) focusing on lay knowledge and sense making, in this context a more critical stance was taken, more akin to that of Howarth (2006). As discussed in the previous chapter, this more critical stance examined the processes by which some representations are legitimised and others not, addressing issues of power and resistance in social concerns. Here, not only is lay knowledge around concepts such as generation, contact, community and intergenerational seen as constructed but so is the more reified knowledge of these concepts. It was in recognising that such concepts are constructed by different social actors in different ways and in different contexts that the assumptions and values behind different systems of knowledge could be explored and emancipatory avenues could be identified.

4.3 Using mixed qualitative methods to explore intergenerational practice and social change

Against the current backdrop of a critical approach and constructionist epistemology concerned with different systems of knowing, qualitative methods allowed opportunities to collect detailed participant accounts within a particular social context (Flick, 2009).

Quantitative methods had previously dominated research in IP as demonstrated in chapter two. The use of surveys on attitudes, wellbeing and perceptions of programmes were common (Jarrott, 2011). Though the use of qualitative methods alongside quantitative methods within intergenerational programme evaluations were becoming increasing popular (Jarrott, 2011), such methods were often limited. They were employed in ways which lacked depth, were largely a theoretical and neglected to take account of the socio-historical context within which the data was generated. As such, qualitative research within IP rarely sought to move beyond a description of project procedures or individual outcomes such as attitude change or increased wellbeing.

Qualitative methods are no longer novel or highly marginalised within psychology and are particularly popular within many areas of health and social psychology (Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008). In the present research, qualitative methods in the form of document analysis, interviews and focus groups, offered tools with which to identify different systems of knowledge and their status within a given context. These different systems of knowledge comprised of both latent as well as more explicit social representations (Bauer

& Gaskell, 1999) and as there are no direct means of experiencing this knowledge without interpretation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), the researcher is inevitably a part of this analysis. Hence, reflexivity is essential in order to shed light on the relationship between the researcher, the data and the phenomenon at hand (Braun, Clarke & Terry, 2014). The benefits of qualitative methods for the study of IP and social change are multiple. They can offer a more ecologically valid and naturalistic method of capturing outcomes and processes of social change. They allow the researcher to probe or clarify responses and gain rich and detailed data which can be analysed for more latent meanings, taking account of the context within which that data was produced. Furthermore, the qualitative researcher's methodological lens is broad, not seeking to operationalise variables but rather to identify how participants make sense of and construct their social world.

The use of mixed qualitative methods was appropriate here as the research questions required an examination of different aspects of IP, of outcomes, processes and agendas. These different aspects took shape in different means (in text, talk and in action) hence the appropriateness of mixed research methods to best address those different aspects. Each of those elements contributed to how IP attempted to promote social change and each was more appropriately accessed through different methods (see Figure 4.2).

4.4 Developing the research design: networking and scoping the field

Adopting a methodological stance in which I sought to capture the social in social change, it was integral to the research design that I engaged very early in the research project with the social worlds in which IP is developed and implemented. In the initial stages of developing the research project, I met with the project partners to discuss the direction of the research. These meetings led to a number of invitations to shadow organisations and meetings in intergenerational work. These early experiences of seeing IP first-hand inevitably shaped the nature and direction of the research project as well as the data collected and interpretation of that data. The details of these meetings follow below.

4.4.1 Visit to Linking Generations Northern Ireland

The Beth Johnson Foundation arranged for me to spend three days in the Linking Generations Northern Ireland (LGNI) offices in December 2012. This allowed me to shadow the staff there, to learn from their experiences of IP and also to observe projects first hand.

From the reports I had read in preparation for the visit, I had a number of preconceived ideas about LGNI. My main expectation was that LGNI would consist of a much larger team than the four individuals working there. My first day with the team was mostly office based and spent learning about the different IPs set up across Northern Ireland. For me, the busyness of the office paralleled that in other community organisations I've

worked with in the past and had an ethos of pro-actively identifying opportunities and important contacts. I was surprised to learn of the scope of areas where IP is used as a tool for social change. LGNI's three tiered approach where IP is promoted at a community level, organisational level and policy level was a particularly useful insight. The scope of initiatives and the strategies used were equally insightful. Age Friendly, Intergenerational Equity, and Safer, Shared and Confident Communities are just three examples of initiatives and strategies in Northern Ireland where IP is being used as a tool for change.

On the second day of my visit I was invited to attend an 'Intergenerational Conversations' session with a small group of older and younger people in the town of Newry. This intergenerational group had been meeting for several weeks and I could sense a degree of cohesion among them. The group very enthusiastically generated ideas for a group weekend away. As the intergenerational conversations sessions came to an end they were each able to reflect upon the experience. One older woman was keen to share with the group and I, a recent experience of hers in which she was lost whilst shopping in an unfamiliar city. The woman described how she had approached a 'young boy' for directions and spoke of how she would not have had the confidence to approach a younger person in that way before she had started the Intergenerational Conversations sessions. Other older women in the group nodded and showed signs of agreement. Only two of the younger members of the projects were able to attend that session, although they appeared to have equally positive views on the value of the intergenerational conversations.

My final day with the LGNI team involved a visit to the town of Enniskillen to observe the team delivering an IP training session to a group of around 18 community officers. These were individuals who delivered services to the community or worked closely with community groups and included police officers, sheltered housing support workers, school support staff and social activity co-ordinators. The training session covered a range of logistical and relational aspects involved in establishing and running IPs and it also allowed community officers to network with each other. The session ended with the distribution of small grant application forms so that the team could support applications during the session.

What struck me with this event was the potential impact of bringing a group of community officers together in this way. The combination of a training, networking and funding support appeared to me to be an efficient way to stimulate IP in a community.

4.4.2 Attending the UK Intergenerational meeting

Following the visit to LGNI, the Beth Johnson Foundation invited me to the UK Intergenerational meeting in Glasgow in January 2013. The two day event was attended by eight key individuals from across the UK working on IP strategy and development at a national and regional level. The agenda included an update on current work and plans from all, a discussion of plans for Older People's Day 2013, a review of activity for the 2012 European Year of Active Ageing and Intergenerational Solidarity and also a discussion on plans for the European Certificate in Intergenerational Learning (EMIL).

This was my first encounter with IP at a more strategic level. Until this point I was somewhat naïve to the scale and scope of IP development in national and regional strategy. These meetings were less about older and younger individuals and communities and more about national development and strategy. During this meeting I observed the conversations around formalising IP (e.g., through EMIL) and raising awareness of IP (e.g., through Older People's Day). It was this event in particular that sparked for me an interest in the construction of IP, and in tandem with scoping the literature, led to the development of the study discussed in Chapter 5 (IP in text: documents as active agents).

4.4.3 The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Roundtable discussion

Having made contacts at the UK Intergenerational meeting, I received an invitation to attend an event hosted by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation to discuss how to better measure and communicate the value of IP and how to make it more 'readable'. The event was attended by over a dozen key individuals involved in developing, delivering or researching IP around the UK. A number of key points and problems arose in the discussion and were subsequently detailed in a follow-up report (Calouste Gulbenkian, 2013). Some of the key issues raised included:

- The types of change IP is seeking to address are not always clear
- There is no standardised evaluation measure to assess the effectiveness of IP
- A lack of tools with which to assess shared rather than individual outcomes
- A lack of hard evidence to suggest that IP improves health and wellbeing

- Funding is challenging to obtain but possible avenues could arise through Public Health, the housing sector and the WHO Age-Friendly agenda.

Attending this roundtable discussion gave me further insights into the current state of IP developments in the UK. Whereas the UK Intergenerational meeting was focused on practice updates and vision, this roundtable discussion was characterised by frustrations, practical barriers and opportunities at a practice level as well as at a strategic one. What arose as issues in practice appeared to mirror many of the gaps in the academic and grey literature and gave me additional confidence that the research questions I sought to address were relevant and valid.

4.4.4 Local consultations

Having the local Public Health division of the city council as partners in the research enabled consultations and informal meetings with key individuals from the start.

Consultations were held with individuals from both within the Public Health team as well as a number of community and third sector organisations in Stoke-on-Trent. These meetings were initiated by the Director of Public Health and contacts then snowballed following initial meetings. Almost all individuals I met worked in older people's or community services. These meetings gave me a better insight into the available resources and opportunities for older people living in the city.

4.4.5 How scoping the field influenced the research design

Liaising with various individuals and engaging in the meetings discussed above inevitably informed and shaped the research questions posed. Initially the research proposal (based on knowledge of the literature and local area) was focused primarily on the development and piloting of an intergenerational initiative in Stoke-on-Trent with the aim of understanding the processes and outcomes involved. The early field visits in tandem with the literature review highlighted a need to also explore the wider factors which may impact upon practice development, namely IP facilitators' understanding of practice and also the social construction of IP more broadly. This reshaping of the research focus resulted in little change to the overarching research question 'How does IP attempt to promote positive social change?' however it did lead to the development of the more specific research questions related to IP agendas.

4.5 The three studies: intergenerational practice in text, talk and action

Three studies utilised mixed qualitative research methods to address the research aims. These studies are illustrated in figure 4.2. Each aimed to explore the social representations of IP and those involved. The first study aimed to explore the values and assumptions behind IP in the UK using a document analysis to examine toolkits and guides to practice. The second aimed to explore understandings of IP held by community work facilitators in one particular city using semi-structured interviews. The final study aimed to understand how IP works to promote positive social change in action through

the collaborative development and piloting of an intergenerational initiative. In this final study, an action research framework and case study strategy encompassed a range of creative research methods (e.g. world café inspired discussions) and more traditional qualitative methods (focus groups, interviews and observations).

4.6 Study one: intergenerational practice in text - documents as active agents

The aim of this study was to explore IP in its written form, in documentation and guidelines produced by organisations developing and advocating the practice for those working in community settings to deliver. The more specific research questions in this phase of study were:

1. What social representations characterise intergenerational practice texts?
2. What role do social representations play in the construction of intergenerational practice and those who participate in it?

The methodological approach for addressing these questions was influenced by both Moscovici's (1968) social representation theory and Prior's (2003) concept of documents as 'active agents'. Prior's work also falls within a social constructionist paradigm which can be traced back to Kuhn (1962) and Berger and Luckmann (1967). In medicine and the sciences, documents are often treated as simply containers of facts or objective truths but as Kuhn's (2012) analysis of the history of science suggested, science is not comprised

of objective truths but it is instead shaped and constructed by human beings and therefore is social in nature and subject to interpretation. Prior (2008) adopted this same social constructionist stance in his work on medical documentation. He argued that documents are not static sources of information but instead help shape and construct the nature of a field, its social institutions and practices. In exploring the documentation associated with an increase in IP develop and strategy, we can examine how IP works at its formal point of origin. Prior's (2003, 2008) work mostly concerned the social construction of health and medical documentation such as psychiatric and cancer patient reports. Shaw (2010) in a similar vein explored social constructions in social policy, taking a 'policy as discourse' approach. This she distinguished from a more traditional rationalist view of policy, which is less open to interpretation. She argued that policy is not a formal, rational process that can be planned in advance but rather is a stream of social action. In viewing documents as active agents the role of structured power relationships and dominant ideologies are illuminated (Shaw, 2010).

The theory of social representations (Moscovici, 1988) and Prior's (2008) approach to document analysis share the same epistemological goal. Both seek to examine the ways in which knowledge is socially constructed as a means of communication and sense-making. Prior's work with documents provides a platform on which to further develop the critical potential of social representation theory (Howarth, 2006) by offering tools with which to investigate the social representations within more reified systems of knowledge such as formal documents and guidelines.

Texts on 'how to do' IP are not static and value-free and therefore examining them can reveal the assumptions that have shaped subsequent actions. In summary, guidelines on IP provide a frame for action. The content of this frame can be seen as a shared knowledge constructed by practitioners in various organisations and institutions.

Documents represent the underlying assumptions and values shared by these particular social institutions. They are more than simple accounts of proposed practices on the basis of past experience. Instead, the social representations within them reflect the agendas grounded in contemporary social norms in a given society.

4.7 Study two: intergenerational practice in talk - interviews with facilitators

The aims of this study were two-fold. This study aimed to explore how facilitators and potential facilitators of IP construct the practice, what understanding of the practice they hold and the implications of this for IP and for older and younger communities. In addition, it sought to help build a picture of community development practices within one particular city and identify opportunities and barriers to the development of IP in a particular geographical context. The aims for this phase of study are summarised in the following research questions:

1. What social representations characterise facilitators' talk of intergenerational practice?

2. What role do social representations play in facilitators' talk of intergenerational practice and those who participate in it?
3. What do facilitators perceive as opportunities and barriers to developing IP?

In order to rigorously address these research questions with the given resources, it was necessary to abandon breadth and generalisability for depth. The focus of this phase was therefore narrowed to the city of Stoke-on-Trent, a city in which much disadvantage is evident (Appendix A). In line with a critical realist stance, knowledge of IP and of communities is contingent upon the context within which it emerges. Knowledge is also value-laden and socially constructed. By narrowing the research focus to explore social representations within one city, a more credible picture can emerge of both what IP is and how it attempts to promote positive social change in this context.

The interview is arguably the most frequently employed qualitative research method in the social sciences. Its popularity could be attributed to its ability to gather rich, detailed information in a flexible manner (Gibson & Brown, 2009). Interviews are also a relatively common qualitative method used with professionals. Renedo and Jovchelovitch (2007: 783) suggest that in-depth individual interviews offer participants the opportunity "to construct and express their knowledge in an open and relatively unconstrained way". In the context of social representations theory, interviews allow access to professionals' representations of an object such as IP (Flick et al, 2002). Interviews were used to illicit

the facilitators' social representations of IP and those within it as well as the root of these representations and their implications for older and younger communities.

4.7.1 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval for this study was initially granted by Keele University in July 2013 (Appendix B) and then subsequent amendments were approved in April 2014 (Appendix C). Invitation emails to potential interviewees included an invitation to interview (Appendix D) and an information sheet (Appendix E). Community workers were invited to read this information before contacting me then once again when we met along with the consent form (Appendix F). Once two copies of the consent form had been signed, participants were invited to ask any questions before the interview schedule questions began (Appendix G). Following each interview, participants were thanked for their participation, given verbal debrief information about the nature of the research and the next phase. Before leaving, I informed participants that I would contact them with details of a feedback event. A key ethical consideration was ensuring that any quotes from the interviews were stripped of identifying features (names of people, organisations, institutions or specific projects) before presenting them at the feedback event.

4.8 Study three: intergenerational practice in action - action

research and creative methods

In line with the first two studies, this study adopted a critical view of knowledge and social change as *social* rather than individual or inter-personal, ultimately positioned

within broader political, symbolic and socio-economic constraints. This study was positioned within an action research framework and adopted a case study strategy and involved extensive collaborations with community organisations across one city. The aim of this study was to facilitate collaborative action that would promote positive social change. With partners across the city of Stoke-on-Trent, a pilot IP was developed in order to address these research aims and explore IP in action. The aims of the final phase of research are summarised in the following research questions:

1. What social representations characterise intergenerational practice in action?
2. What outcomes are achieved through intergenerational practice?
3. What processes are involved in intergenerational practice?

Action research frameworks consist of cycles of action, reflection and planning with the understanding that participants are experts in their own lives and that in order to understand participants and produce research that is relevant, researchers must work with them rather than study them (Brydon-Miller, Greenwood & Maguire, 2003). Figure 4.1 below summarises one stage of action, reflection and planning within this study. This cycle began with the research and community consultation in study two which then fed into the collaborative development of the IP which was then piloted. Data was collected throughout and then analysed and disseminated to all stakeholders. Within action research it is at that point at which the cycle can begin again by consulting with the community in order to explore how to build upon that action and research findings.

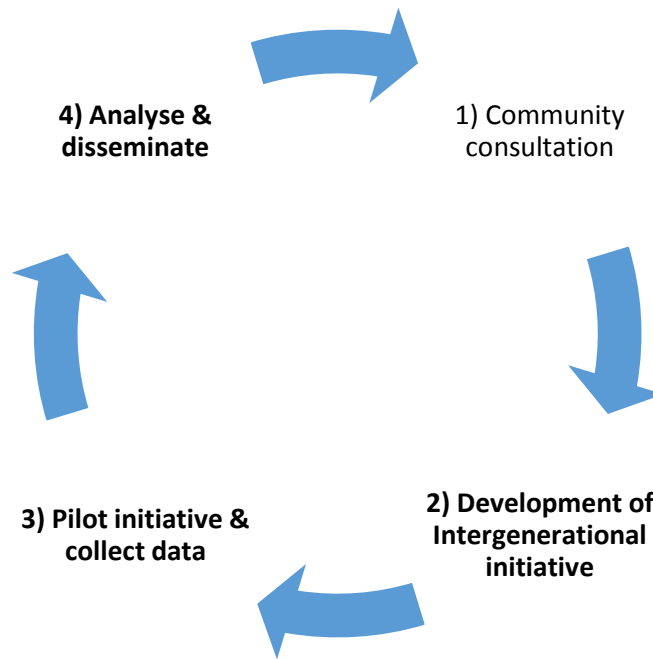


Figure 4.1 The nature of activities in one action research cycle with the activities associated with study 3 in bold.

These cycles of action and reflection aimed to understand the processes involved in IP development in one particular pilot or case. Yin (2013: 18) defines case study research as empirical inquiry that “investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. In developing an IP to pilot in Stoke-on-Trent the IP pilot was entwined in the specific context in which specific decisions were made and processes occurred, blurring the boundaries between phenomenon and context. A case study strategy was employed in order to retain a focus on understanding those encompassing decisions and processes because they were pertinent to understanding this particular IP.

As IP is inherently about social change, action research and social representations theory lend themselves to the study of how such action or social change is fostered in community settings. Action research abandons notions of objectivity in favour of collectively-driven change. It is within such action that social representations can be observed to be engaged with, reified, challenged and resisted (Howarth, 2006) as ultimately social representations are communicative tools as well as systems of collective knowledge and understanding. Action research provided an opportunity with which to explore the social representations that people draw upon and circulate in the context of a social change oriented initiative.

4.8.1 Traditional and creative qualitative methods: mixed methods to explore outcomes and processes

In chapter two I critiqued previous research on IP for neglecting context and processes in accounts of social change and attributed this neglect in part to the limited range of research methods employed. In study three a wide range of mixed qualitative methods (focus groups, interviews, creative methods, ethnographic observations, researcher diary) were employed to capture processes and outcomes.

A small number of studies had more recently identified the value of focus groups for exploring social change in intergenerational initiatives (e.g. Alcock et al, 2011). Focus groups are common within an action research framework (Stringer, 2013) as they can involve several members of the community and can elicit discussion, highlighting

consensus and disagreement on a given topic. The focus group is a complementary method for use within an action research frame as the method aims to elicit conversation in a naturalistic environment much like a café or pub (Markova, Linell, Grossen & Orvig, 2007). From a social representation approach, focus groups have many advantages. Markova and colleagues (2007) suggested that focus groups are under-utilised yet ideal for examining socially shared knowledge in depth, allowing access to the construction and circulation of social representations. It is this latter benefit in particular that resulted in focus groups being the chosen method of investigation before and after the intergenerational project. Focus groups aimed to gain access to participants shared understandings of notions such as community, older people and younger people. In conducting these before and after the initiative, it was hoped to capture subtle shifts or elements of resistance or reification in those social representations.

Whilst interviews and focus groups allow for rich in-depth data to be collected, they are characterised by an expert-participant power dynamic. Creative research methods are commonly used within action research frameworks to engage and empower participants. The use of creative activities is common within intergenerational practice yet creative *research* methods are rare. No studies could be located which sought to examine an intergenerational project through creative research methods. This is likely the result of narrow definitions of evaluation and questions of definitions of evidence, as proposed by Putland (2008). Creative methods can serve to unite communities and help articulate collective visions (Murray, 2012) and in this sense are well wedded to a social representations approach.

The use of participant drawings of older and younger people are popular in practice and were witnessed during my visit to *Linking Generations Northern Ireland* (discussed in Chapter One) as well as being a method advocated by longstanding London based intergenerational organisation *Magic Me* (Langford & Mayo, 2001). However, such images have rarely been used in any analysis or evaluation of intergenerational initiatives, adding to the gap in knowledge of the various processes involved. Individual participant drawings have occasionally been used in research in attempts to identify attitudes towards older people but not as a part of intergenerational practice (Femia, Zarit, Blair, Jarrott & Bruno, 2008; Weber, Cooper & Hesser, 1996; Lichtenstein, Pruski, Marshall, Blalock, Murphy, Plaetke & Lee, 2001). Such studies tended to use drawings as a measure of attitudes in a similar way that they would use a scale, contents are quantified and coded as revealing a positive or negative attitude. No research could be found on drawings of older people produced collectively or as a part of intergenerational practice. Nor could any research be found on drawings of younger people by older people, likely due to participant drawing being a non-verbal method predominantly used to engage children and young people rather than adults (Guillemin & Drew, 2010).

The use of drawings and images as a research data is somewhat popular within social representations theory research. Images within the media are a common area of investigation but increasingly also are participant drawings. Smith and Joffe (2013) explored public perceptions of climate change using a free-association task in which participants were invited to write or draw images associated with global warming. The task revealed which associations were most accessible for participants and reflected the

kinds of images used in the media on the same issue. Howarth (2007) in her study of racism and identity analysed the drawings of several eight to eleven year olds which revealed how racism was represented in their lives. Howarth's rationale was that a non-directive research method such as drawing might better demonstrate sense-making in relation to the sensitive topic of race. Drawings were suggested to offer more valid and reliable access to social representations as they are non-verbal representations of an object often used in a free-association style task.

Drawings can be an engaging and empowering research method (Guillemin & Drew, 2010) and therefore align with the principles of action research. Guillemin and Drew propose that participant drawings as a form of visual methodology "take participants seriously as knowers (p. 178)" and allow participants to express what they cannot express with words.

Ethnographic observations are another research method able to capture non-verbal social representations. Mosovici (1984: 54) asserted that the "character of a social representation reveals itself in times of crises and upheaval or when a group or its image are undergoing change". Furthermore the dynamic and fluid nature of social representations or socially shared knowledge lends itself to be studied in action, in places where such knowledge will be engaged with, resisted or reified.

An original intention was to conduct ethnographic observations and record these during the project sessions but the messiness inherent in action research (Brydon-Miller,

Greenwood and Maguire, 2003) and community psychology (Cornish and Campbell, 2010) made this challenging. Many researchers have commented on the difficulty of recording observations whilst in the field and the ways in which it can disrupt the naturalistic flow of activity being observed (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). As a result, ethnographic observations were largely recorded as a part of the researcher diary. Observations were not made distinct from reflections in line with the constructionist stance of the research. Nor was a pre-existing observational typology or scale used such as the intergenerational observation scale developed by Jarrott and colleagues (2008) discussed in chapter two. The goal here was rather to capture anything pertaining to the project and participants which might be of interest. This was not an easy task, it was time-consuming and requires ongoing recognition of the subjective role of the researcher in selecting what is to be recorded for observation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). However, this approach provided the opportunity to capture data that might be excluded, ignored or skewed within a more operationalised scale or measure of observation.

As stated in the introduction to this section, action research involves abandoning ideas of objectivity in favour of relevance and social change. The research was ultimately embedded within these processes of change, working with participants in attempt to offer voice to communities who are often unheard or invisible. An understanding of the researcher's subjective and involved role, as scholar-activist rather than objective scientist (Murray, 2012) calls for the use of research methods that document and make explicit that role. A researcher diary maintained through the development and delivery of the project enabled some of this subjectivity and role to be captured.

4.8.2 Ethical considerations

In action research, ethical considerations often differ or are made more complex than ethical considerations in more traditional psychological research designs (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014). Issues such as ownership, power, consent and the right to withdraw are often muddled by the involvement of multiple stakeholders. Working with disadvantaged communities and attempting to foster social change brings a host of new ethical considerations. Brydon-Miller (2012: 158) listed some key considerations as being; autonomy, sovereignty, beneficence, justice, caring, respect, commitment, transparency and democratic practice. She suggested that these ethical principles demand a shift in how research is practiced in order to remain mindful of these principles and any others that are encountered. The research presented here involved some of these considerations. With regards to commitment, the brief nature of this IP had ethical implications in that older participants were recruited in the hope that the initiative would have a positive impact upon feelings of loneliness and isolation. Efforts were made to explore any available avenues to help make the IP more sustainable yet from the recruitment stage it was ethically important to remind participants of the time-limited nature of the pilot study. Respect was present throughout and in particular, the distribution of framed photographs of the participants during the follow-up thank you event was another attempt to show appreciation for the participants' time and energy. Ownership was encouraged throughout by use of democratic processes to make project decisions of varying scale, from choice of cakes to the topics of discussion and types of

creative outputs. Formal ethical approval from the University's Research Ethics Committee was granted in July 2014 (Appendix H).

4.9 Using thematic analysis to illuminate the process of social construction

All data (documents, interview and focus group transcripts, observations, researcher diary and creative work) collected in all three studies were subject to a thematic analysis.

Though the data preparation and more specific steps involved varied between studies, all followed the principles and guidance laid out in Braun and Clarke (2006). Thematic analysis is a creative, theoretically-flexible form of qualitative data analysis, advocating an organic process of coding and theme development in which the results stem from interaction between the researcher, their skills and the data rather than simply being a process of discovering themes (Braun, Clarke & Terry, 2014). Thematic analysis is becoming increasingly popular in the social sciences and particularly in the health-related end of social psychology (Brown & Locke, 2008). Its critics argue that the method is overly simplistic, unsophisticated or concerned more with semantic level themes (Braun, Clarke & Terry, 2014). This criticism perhaps stems from a period when thematic analysis and content analysis were used interchangeably. Braun and Clarke (2006) do however argue for and detail the suitability of the method to more constructionist research questions.

One advantage of thematic analysis, particularly within the context of the present mixed methods research is that it is flexible, allowing for the incorporation of both a data-driven

inductive approach and an a priori deductive approach to analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Frosh and Saville Young (2008) refer to this as binocularity, a combining of data description and theory-driven interpretation. Thematic analysis also seeks to identify themes across a whole data set rather than within a single data item or source unlike interpretive phenomenological analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Perhaps most importantly to the present work, thematic analysis is not always simply a process of deriving semantic-level themes as some critics have suggested. Braun and Clarke (2006: 13) detail how thematic analysis may be employed in different ways, at a more semantic level but likewise it is appropriate for the investigation of “underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations – and ideologies”. Not being wed to a particular theory, epistemology or method, grants thematic analysis a flexibility which for the present research allowed a broad variety of data to be subject to the same analytic steps, strengthening the credibility of the findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Many features of this more constructionist thematic analysis appear similar to discourse analysis, particularly the element of “interpretation beyond language” to explore assumptions about social order (Jaworski & Coupland, 2004: 3). Thematic analysis was chosen because of its ability to explore constructions and underlying assumptions within language and images yet with the freedom to work with a more appropriate theoretical framework. Thematic analysis used from a more constructionist perspective is highly appropriate for identifying social representations within participant accounts. Joffe (2012) suggested that thematic analysis is a useful tool for the illuminate the process of social construction. Thematic analysis is well-suited to the search for latent themes and a focus

on “the socio-cultural contexts and structural conditions that enable the individual accounts that are provided” (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 14). This appropriateness has been demonstrated in studies examining social representations of health professionals (Flick et al, 2002) and social representations of various phenomena within the media (e.g. Joffe & Haarhoff, 2002; Morant, 2006; Washer & Joffe, 2006).

4.10 Reflexivity and the need to explore subjectivities

Reflexivity is described as reflections upon the ways in which our subjective standpoint is an inherent part of the research process and has been integral to research in much of the social sciences for decades (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). Within psychology, the dominance of quantitative methodology and positivist epistemology have resulted in an absence of reflexivity until more recently with the growth of qualitative methods and alternative research paradigms (Chamberlain, 2015). Considering the strong constructionist stance adopted here, reflexivity was crucial in order to extrapolate the subjectivities embedded in the different research processes. Reflexivity is complex and multi-faceted (Parker, 2004). Mauthner & Doucet, (2003) note the need to consider several aspects of the subjective role of the researcher in qualitative data analysis. These include social location and emotional responses to respondents, academic and personal biographies, institutional and interpersonal contexts and ontological and epistemological conceptions of subjects and subjectivities. Chamberlain (2015) summarised the benefits of reflexivity for research in health and how these can be achieved. He argues that reflexive considerations can and should be made during research planning and writing

and in relation to research ethics, critiques and processes. These he suggests will benefit the research quality, representation, ethical practice, critical approach and creativity. Reflexive sections appear in the empirical chapters as well as the discussion chapters in order to make explicit my understanding of my own role in the processes of the research design, analysis and interpretation.

4.11 Intergenerational practice in text, talk and in action: a methodological framework

The present research consisted of three studies. Each study addressed the main research question of ‘how does IP attempt to promote social change?’ through a different lens and through different qualitative methods. Figure 4.2 illustrates the varying scope of these studies.

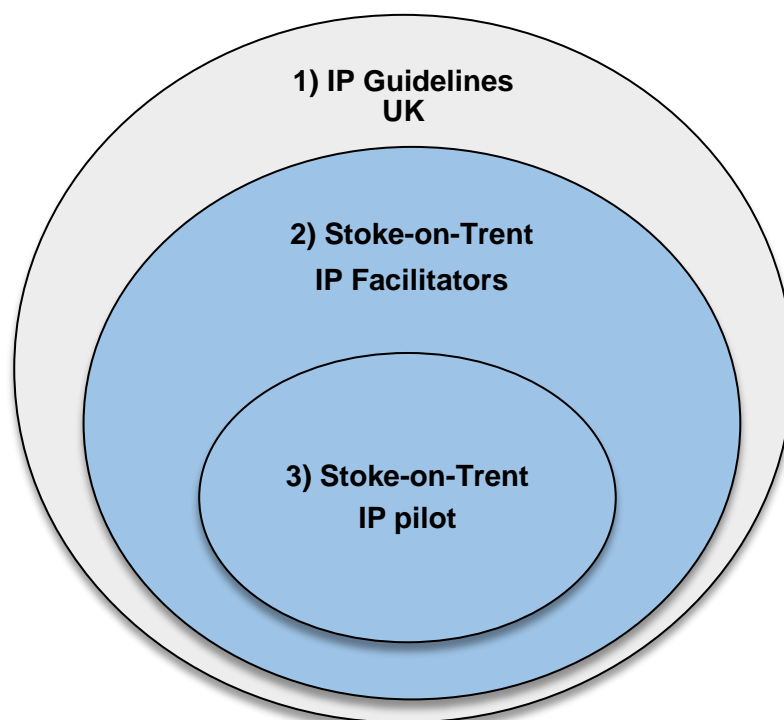


Figure 4.2 The methodological scope of each study.

The first study adopted the widest lens. Here, I sought to address the absence of research into the assumptions and values within IP documentation. Drawing upon theoretical discussions of social representations within reified knowledge as well as the social constructionist document analysis outlined by Prior (2008) I examined how IP is constructed in texts, in the guidelines and toolkits developed by practitioners advocating the practice and advising community facilitators on how to facilitate IP with their communities. The aim was to identify shared assumptions, values and social representations of the practice as well as their implications for action.

Study two sought to identify how IP is constructed by those working with older and younger communities, using semi-structured interviews to explore the shared knowledge and assumptions circulating among facilitators in one particular city. The interviews elicited social representations of IP and of younger and older people. An additional role of this study was to gain knowledge of local communities and practice facilitation to contribute to the development of the third and final study. In this sense, studies two and three comprised a case study of IP in Stoke-on-Trent.

Study three built upon the knowledge of local communities and working practices gained from phase two and utilising an action research framework sought to facilitate action that would promote positive social change. Working collaboratively to facilitate a school-based IP, mixed qualitative and creative research methods were employed to explore the

nature of social change from the perspective of the participants, facilitators and researcher. This latter phase placed particular emphasis on the processes of change and the different social representations that participants engaged with throughout these processes.

4.12 Chapter summary

This chapter has built upon the previous chapter in outlining the methodology which was used to examine the social nature of social change. Informed by the theory of social representations, the present research adopted a social constructionist approach, drawing upon mixed qualitative and creative methods to investigate how IP is attempted to promote social change. Three studies were conducted to address this research question. Each study differed in scope and purpose yet each aimed to gain a greater understanding of how IP is socially constructed and the implications of this for younger and older communities. This chapter offered an introduction to the methodological features and issues present in each of these studies and also highlighted the relationship between the three studies. In addition a discussion of qualitative methods, of thematic analysis and reflexivity were presented as these are key methodological features of the present research. The following three chapters detail the methodological procedures and research findings for each study.

5 Intergenerational practice in text: documents as active agents

“Handle them carefully for words have more power than atom bombs”

- Pearl Strachen Hurd

5.1 Chapter overview

IP toolkits and guidelines have been growing in number over the past decade, helping to establish the practice as independent and distinctive from other health promotion and community development approaches. Despite such growth in practice, interest and documentation, little is known about *how* IP works to achieve its social psychological aims such as improved attitudes, increased health and wellbeing and community cohesion. It is recognised here that IP documents are not simply containers of information but instead are ‘active agents’ in the construction of the practice. Furthermore, such documents are constructed by social actors in the field of IP and therefore represent socially situated knowledge, assumptions and values. Fifteen high profile documents were selected and analysed for both content and function using a thematic analysis to explore dominant themes and social representations circulating within them. The findings revealed how IP is constructed in as a series of dichotomous social representations: 1) government control versus community empowerment 2) inequality and segregation versus equality and inclusion, and 3) hard outcomes versus soft aims. The social representations within these dimensions relate to the nature of IP, the facilitator, the participants and practice aims

and outcomes. The polyphasic nature of these social representations is a result of the underpinning theme individualism/collectivism. These social representations and the underpinning theme are discussed throughout.

5.2 Research aims

The overarching study aims were to explore the relationship between IP and social change. The present study addressed this aim by exploring IP in its most established form, in documentation and guidelines produced by organisations developing and advocating the practice. The specific research questions addressed through this study were:

1. What social representations characterise intergenerational practice texts?
2. What role do social representations play in the construction of intergenerational practice and those who participate in it?

5.3 Method

The generally methodological approach employed in this study was introduced in the previous chapter (see 4.6). This section details the more specific methodological details and procedures employed to address the outlined research questions.

5.3.1 Document selection process

All documents used in the analysis were accessed through the internet. As documents were accessed through a public forum, in line with university guidance on research ethics (Keele University, 2013), it was not deemed necessary to seek permission for use of any documents for analysis. Searches were not restricted to the term 'Intergenerational Practice' but also included the terms 'intergenerational guide', 'intergenerational approach', 'intergenerational strategy' and 'intergenerational toolkit' in order to capture any relevant guides and toolkits for that also used the term 'intergenerational' but not necessarily the term 'practice'. Many of the documents were already known to be of a high profile through liaising with intergenerational practitioners during the course of the research (for more detail on networking and scoping the field see 4.4).

As the purpose of the study was to understand the nature of the information available to potential facilitators of practice, the search strategy adopted aimed at gaining a representative sample of the most accessible material on IP rather than the most accurate or up-to-date. Documents were initially selected based on ease of availability. Those which appeared high in search results were scanned for suitability. Some documents were excluded due to being written in a language other than English or being single evaluation reports or case studies rather than guides to practice or toolkits. After judging documents against these inclusion and exclusion criteria, a total of 15 documents were selected for analysis containing a total of 359 pages of text and images.

5.3.2 Audience

A unifying nature of all the documents considered was that they were all aimed at facilitators wishing to carry out intergenerational work. This focus on documents aimed at the facilitator allowed for the inclusion of documents written at a regional and national level. The target audience of each document was often made explicit and in 14 of the 15 documents it was made clear that guidelines were aimed at facilitators through the use of such phrases as “aimed at those new to setting up intergenerational projects” and “aimed at people working in community development, neighbourhood management, and regeneration”. The documents selected came from diverse sources and organisations but all were created with an aim of providing guidance on practice to potential IP facilitators.

5.3.3 Data preparation

Photocopies of original documents were made for use in analysis rather than scanning the documents for analysis through computer assisted software. Highlighters and annotations were used in the development of codes and themes. All text and images present in all documents were subject to analysis.

5.3.4 Analytic procedure

The steps involved in the analysis are detailed here, in line with calls for greater evidence of quality in qualitative research across domains including data analysis (Tong, Sainsbury & Craig, 2007). Traditionally thematic analysis treats solely text and images as data in the analysis of textual and visual data. In the present study however, both the content and

function of all documents were subject to analysis. Broadening the analytic lens to include function as well as content is advocated by Prior (2003) when exploring documents as active agents in the construction of a given phenomenon. For content, a largely inductive thematic analysis was conducted (Braun & Clarke, 2006), driven also by a need to explore the nature of IP and the concepts associated with it. Prominent concepts within the IP literature (i.e. younger and older people, community cohesion and intergenerational contact) informed the initial coding. The first phase involved becoming familiar with the data. Each document was read thoroughly several times in order to gain awareness of the full scope of content, making only a few annotations next to points of interest. Next, the content was explored in greater detail; initial notes and codes were made on segments of text, images or words of interest to the research question. Deductive codes were used simultaneously during this stage where relevant (i.e. older people, younger people, community cohesion, intergenerational contact). The inductive codes in particular helped to create a picture of how concepts of interest were characterised. Once initial notes and codes were made across the entire data set, notes were reduced into codes based on similarity of meaning; where several notes described the data in a similar way (e.g. older people need managing, older people lack independence, older people need support) they were reduced to a single code (e.g. older people as a burden). It was during this phase that many contrasting and dichotomous ideas surrounding key concepts began to emerge.

The analysis strived to “identify and examine underlying ideas, assumptions and conceptualisations” (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 84) concerned with more than coding at a

semantic level. The focus was on exploring underlying assumptions rather than the individual motivations of each author in line with the theory of social representations and an interest in the socially constructed understanding of IP. All codes were recorded not only onto the documents themselves but also into mind-mapping computer software 'FreeMind' which enabled a visual overview of the codes and made sorting codes into themes a more transparent process (see Appendix X). The identification of themes was driven by both a desire to capture the core content of the codes and the common sense understanding that encompassed them. This stage as with any thematic analysis required a degree of boldness and creativity (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Several themes were generated initially though some were later discarded due to a lack of supporting data and others collapsed into each other where they appeared to illustrate the same encompassing social representation. This process inevitably involved a degree of judgement on behalf of the researcher but the iterative nature of this stage in the analysis ensured a high degree of rigour and quality was maintained (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Only themes which clearly evidenced social representations were included in the final analysis. These social representations were defined and named to ensure they gave a comprehensive overview of the data.

The function of the documents was simultaneously examined. Documents are viewed here as communicative devices, constructing a particular version of reality (Flick, 2009). They are also 'active agents' and not simply containers of information (Prior, 2008). This ontological position and also the nature of the documents studied (i.e. guides to practice) meant that the function of the document, as a guide to practice or action, was of

particular importance in understanding the role the role they play in the construction of different social representations of IP. When viewing documents as actors themselves, content becomes secondary. Instead emphasis is placed upon how documents drive social activity, rather than be driven by human actors (Prior, 2008). There is a need to take account of the social actors who write documents but also those who read them as both need to 'make sense' of what is being said. Coffey (2014: 372) reminds us that "making sense is a socially organised activity" and this assumes a shared common knowledge.

This simultaneous phase of analysis therefore focused on the function of the documents. In doing so, the analysis considered the context within which the documents were constructed. This element of analysis required questions to be asked of the documents such as 'who is the author, what are their affiliations and what purpose does this document serve for them?', 'who are the target audience?' and 'who do the authors treat as sources of authority?'. The answers to these questions (e.g. documents are aimed at facilitators working to help manage older people) were then integrated into the social representations derived from the content of the documents (e.g. older and younger as unequal in status, facilitators as managers of participant groups). The marrying of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and a social constructionist document analysis (Prior, 2006) allowed the research questions to be addressed in a critical and context sensitive manner.

5.3.5 Methodological strengths and limitations

One key concern was that I was unable to ascertain if the documents in the sample were used by facilitators to guide IP and if so how often or in what ways. The broad nature of the sample also resulted in a picture of IP across the UK, potentially neglecting nuances in particular regions or within particular organisations. Furthermore, the exclusion of guidelines that did not feature the term 'intergenerational' may have resulted in the exclusion of prominent guiding documents for intergenerational work. The rationale behind this final exclusion criteria was one based on an explicit need to explore 'IP' as an emerging practice distinct from other approaches.

To demonstrate a degree of consistency and methodological strength, the document analysis was judged against Guba and Lincoln's (1994) proposed criteria for rigor in qualitative research, namely that the research should demonstrate credibility, transferability and dependability. The sample selected for this document analysis enabled an exploration of social representations on a broad scale, as there was public access to guidelines to best practice developed across the UK. The inclusion of documents produced at both local and national levels increased the transferability of the findings to other IP guidelines produced within the UK. The large sample size relative to the number of guides that are in circulation, ensured a good degree of dependability. Having shadowed and spent time consulting with intergenerational practitioners I was also able to confirm that the most accessible online documents were those used or promoted for use in practice, enhancing the credibility of the findings by using data sources which best

reflect popular IP guidelines. The iterative analytic process and conscientious approach to following Braun and Clarke's (2006) steps also served to strengthen the dependability of the findings.

5.3.6 Acknowledging my own values and assumptions in shaping the research design

The design of this study was developed early in the research project. Its development (much more so than the other two studies) was influenced by my attendance at a number of meetings (detailed in Chapter 4.4) and events where practitioners discussed ways in which to further develop and raise the profile of IP. These meetings and events allowed me to meet with key figures in the field and learn about ongoing and intended developments in IP. Amid talks of how to best market and popularise intergenerational work, I became increasingly conscious of my own values and assumptions in relation to the field. I had begun the present research with experience and interest in community-led research projects. With this I had assumed IP was a *community-led* community development tool. The opportunity to network with the developers of the practice exposed me to an IP which was mechanically very different to the one had attracted me. This image of IP was characterised by a sophisticated and well-managed network of people working not directly with communities but 'behind the scenes' developing toolkits and looking for opportunities to connect policy and practice. Many toolkits and guides were present in these meetings and interwoven into discussions about the promotion and future direction of IP. My background in community-led mental health research had

perhaps left me with a somewhat skewed and naïve to the sophistication of the development work happening behind the scenes. Preliminary aims for the present research had been methodologically narrower. My initial interest (and the interest of the project partners) was primarily on the development of practice in action. It became apparent however, after some liaison with those developing IP and after noticing limited discussion of practice development in the literature, that in order to understand how IP works, the methodological lens needed to be widened. The present study enabled a critical examination of these wider influences, an examination undoubtedly driven in part by a desire to explore the intentions of IP.

5.4 Research findings: documents as active agents

The analysis of the 15 IP documents generated a polyphasic representational field in which social representations appear along three dimensions. These dimensions relate to the nature of IP, the IP facilitator, the participants within IP and its aims and outcomes. The dichotomous social representations within each dimension contribute to a polyphasic representational field. The source of this cognitive polyphasia is the thema individualism/collectivism. Figure 5.1. illustrates the representational field evident within the IP texts.

Together IP as government control, participants as unequal in status and segregated, and IP as driven by hard outcomes are all underpinned by an ideology of individualism.

Conversely, IP as community empowerment, participants as equal and included and IP as

driven by soft aims are each underpinned by an ideology of collectivism. The theme individualism/collectivism is thus at the root of how IP is constructed in documentation.

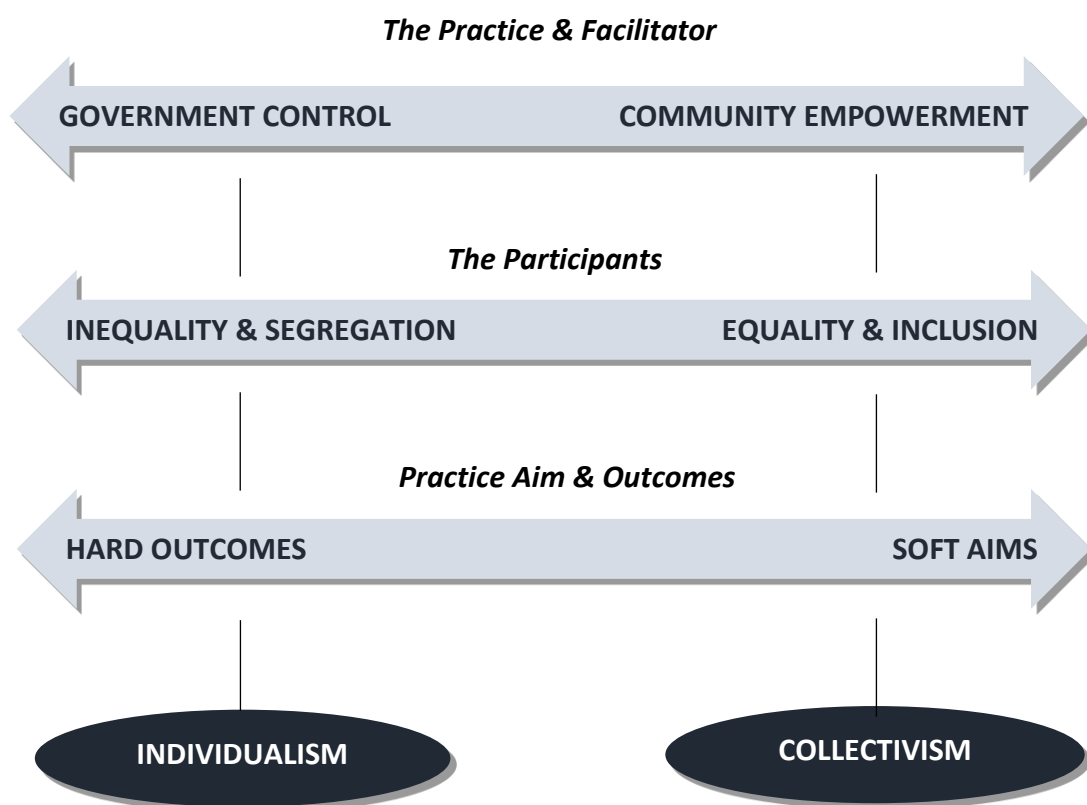


Figure 5.1. Three dimensions showing dichotomous social representations within the construction of IP, the facilitator, the participants and practice aims and outcomes. These social representations are rooted in the theme individualism/collectivism.

The dichotomies were present both *within* the documents as well as *across* them. All of the documents constructed IP through reference to opposing representations, illustrating that understandings of IP did not always draw upon one representation of IP or another within a single dimension but upon both, resulting in tension.

The following sections will outline each of these dimensions, providing evidence from the documents to highlight its full scope. It is argued here that the root of all of these dimensions and the dichotomous representations within them is the theme individualism/collectivism.

5.4.1 Government control versus community empowerment

This dimension refers both to the nature of IP as well as the role of the IP facilitator. The extracts presented here aim to show how community engagement and social change are consistently at the forefront of the IP agenda, emphasis is placed on strong leadership and the empowerment of communities. At times however, the notion of helping individuals to help themselves and help their community appeared more like a form of governmentality than community empowerment. The concept governmentality was developed by Foucault (1991) to explain the 'conduct of conduct' or the 'art of government' and refers to both explicit and implicit forms of governing. Where IP is proposed as a tool for solving community and social problems, responsibility is often placed on individuals to change those behaviours deemed antisocial or detrimental to their own and others health and wellbeing. The construction of IP as governmentality can be seen as dichotomous to the construction of IP as community empowerment. The former constructs IP as a 'top-down' intervention centred on intergenerational contact, to be implemented *on* communities, while the latter constructs IP as 'bottom-up' to be developed *with* communities, hence creating a conflict between two opposing assumptions and values.

The role of the IP facilitator is constructed in a parallel tension. The facilitator is constructed as the activist, innovator and voice of the community whilst simultaneously, they are constructed as project manager, civil servant and scientist who meticulously plans each IP initiative in order for it to meet government agendas or facilitate the appropriate conduct of citizens. At this later end of the government control/community empowerment dimension, IP is instigated with only consultation from the community involved rather than with the community's needs at the forefront. Conversely, the IP facilitator is constructed as an activist and community champion, representing the community and striving for social change alongside them.

The evidence presented below illustrates the full scope of understanding in relation to the nature of IP, from government control to community empowerment. Where all dimensions are discussed, the first extracts presented have been selected to best illustrate engagement with one social representation. The subsequent extracts then show examples where dichotomous social representations have been drawn upon and circulated simultaneously.

5.4.1.1 Intergenerational practice as government and the facilitator as employee

Evidence to illustrate IP as government control and the facilitator as employee emerged from analysis of the underlying values and assumptions within the documents. It is important to also discuss here, the function of the documents and how this also serves to construct IP as government control. The function of the documents plays a large role in the construction of this social representation. In producing guides to best practice and

toolkits, active agents are produced – whose role it is to inform IP facilitators in their work with communities. In considering this function, a hierarchy of power emerged with the prescription of IP at the top, in form of IP documents, followed by the IP facilitator who uses such documents to guide a community (at the bottom of the hierarchy) in a particular IP. Figure 5.2 shows a visual representation of this hierarchy.

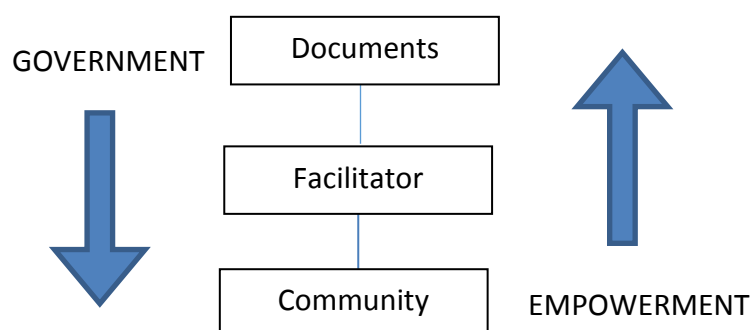


Figure 5.2. Social agents involved in IP. Arrows illustrate the ‘top-down’ versus ‘bottom-up’ nature of IP constructed by the documents.

The documents contained a large amount of information relating to case studies or examples of good practice in different IPs. The dissemination and showcasing of community projects, though potentially empowering to those communities, was interpreted and re-presented by a figure of authority such as a community development officer. As a result the voice of the community is heard only through the language of an official. Those intergenerational initiatives which are therefore deemed successful are often reduced to a summary of outputs and function to showcase community

achievements and legitimise IP as the most appropriate tool for a particular community concern. This narrow top-down representation of IP is further supported through the content of the documents and the analysis of the underlying values and assumptions within the language and images used. The following extract was taken from the 'Generations Working Together' guidelines and illustrates governmentality and IP being constructed as 'top-down' in nature:

"IP and the National Performance Framework.

The table at the end of this guideline presents examples of IP and how they can align with national priorities and strategic objectives. It provides the following information:

- *National priorities and strategic objectives*
- *Explanation of how that example relates to other priorities or strategic objectives*
- *Links to examples of current IP projects that address the national priorities, objectives and outcomes*

For each project, the table provides a link to a summary, with a list of the national priorities and objectives that this type of IP can support, and the outcomes it achieves for different groups." (Doc 2, p16)

In this account, IP was represented as a means of achieving national priorities and strategic objectives. A top-down agenda could be seen here in which case studies are selected and showcased based more on their ability to meet the government's needs rather than the needs of any community. IP was constructed here as a tool for supporting the national government agenda. There is an implication that IP projects that do not address national priorities are insignificant or inferior. This representation of IP could function as a means of validating the practice and providing a sense of authenticity to the author and potential facilitator. There are potentially a number of implications for communities should facilitators develop IP in this top-down manner with broad government objectives and targets as key aims. Not only might a community's needs remain unfulfilled but communities may be targets for programmes and practice that are ill-matched with their needs, wishes or identity. This implication of top-down community development practices has already been discussed in the context of health promotion programmes for older people (Conway & Crawshaw, 2009), cognitive behavioural programmes in schools (Dahlstedt, Fejes & Schonning, 2011) and according to Bulley and Sokhi-Bulley (2012) in a range of other community settings as a result of the former UK coalition governments' drive for the 'big society' which peaked in 2011. Elements of governmentality were found across all documents although two of the fifteen documents in particular, drew strongly on the social representation of IP as government control. These are the 'Generations Working Together Guidelines' (document 2) and the Local Government Association 'IP: A guide to running a self-assessment workshop' (document

9). The former focuses on how to achieve national objectives through IP and the latter on how to work closely and predominantly with local authority colleagues to plan IP strategy.

Regarding social representations of the IP facilitator, the 'Local Government Association' document similarly demonstrates how they are positioned at the same governmentality end of the government control/community empowerment dimension. This document (document 9) largely consists of a template for the planning of an IP initiative. Eight of the document's 20 pages are dedicated to the template and planning tool which consists of a stage by stage event plan, multiple comments boxes and a two page action plan to be completed by the facilitator. The facilitator is consequently positioned as the central figure in the planning, running and evaluation of the initiative. IP is constructed as something to occur in consultation with the community rather than being a 'bottom-up' and community led process. The facilitator is positioned as the central leading figure in the proposed initiative rather than the community or community representative(s). Placing the facilitator in this central position may be advantageous for ease of project management however this construction simultaneously positions the role of the community as inferior. A consequence may be that the community's needs and values are placed secondary to those of the local authority. This positioning of the facilitator is typical of the documents analysed here. None of the guides or toolkits is aimed directly at community members or representatives. This implicit power structure in which the facilitator holds the position of expert is, according to Taylor (2007) typical of community participation in the real world. Taylor argues that although the shift from explicit government to a more implicit governance has created opportunities for disadvantaged

communities, it also serves to limit the power that disadvantaged communities hold by keeping them on the margins in decision making processes.

5.4.1.2 Intergenerational practice as community empowerment and the facilitator as activist

Evidence to illustrate the construction of IP as community empowerment and the facilitator as activist appeared across all documents. Whereas the function of the documents predominantly constructed IP as government control, the content of the documents predominantly constructed IP as community empowerment. In the following extract taken from document 1 'Designing sustainable community action for communities of all ages' IP is constructed as an empowering process:

"UNDERSTANDING THE PROCESS. When creating new ideas, bring together the people with the first-hand insight and experience to identify the opportunities and add their perspective to the creative process. This will be about bringing together different generations and facilitating joint conversations and activities. You cannot possible have all the best ideas alone." (Doc 1, p17)

This description of the process of conducting IP places emphasis on the community and their values and experiences. It is recognised that a key figure is needed to instigate and facilitate this process. Unlike in the previous examples, the facilitator here is represented as a collaborator and activist. The role of the facilitator is to bring the different

generations together and facilitate creative processes. The emphasis on creation and creative processes lies in opposition to the processes of management, planning and procedure described in the construction of IP as government control. The assumption that the facilitator can or should 'have all the best ideas' is refuted and instead the community members are positioned as the experts and power placed instead with them. This quote illustrates IP being constructed as 'bottom-up' in nature – a process of empowerment. The facilitator plays more of a secondary role. With reference to Figure 5.2, social actors are positioned in a more or less reverse role to their position in the construction of IP as government control. The following quote also highlights this 'bottom-up' relationship between social actors and is a strong example of the facilitator being constructed as activist:

"Know what the project is based on. Was the project your idea, or an idea that originated from younger and/or older people? Or has it come from elsewhere?"

Get a good sense of the reasons behind the project. For example, if you are basing a project around a perceived problem with young people in a park, find out what these perceptions are based on, and what the expectations are of those holding these beliefs." (Doc 11, p10)

Here we can see a focus on subjective lay knowledge and beliefs rather than an attempt to make participants more aware of 'expert' understandings. This extract demonstrates how reflective practice is encouraged. It is not assumed that the facilitator will know and

understand the reasoning behind the project's aims and objectives. It is recognised that a project idea may stem from a variety of sources including the community. Through their position of power, the facilitator is able to act as a voice for the community. Active listening is encouraged in order to understand the basis of the community's perceptions, leading to the construction of IP as community empowerment. The construction of the facilitator as activist is probably most prominently illustrated here:

*"COMMUNITY ACTION VS. PROJECTS. Throughout this book we are going to use the term '**community action**' instead of the word '**project**'. Community action is a journey of daring and courage. An adventure that embraces risk and surprises and moments of wonder. Community actions do not always have a predetermined end, there is an openness to exploration." (Doc 1, p1 emphasis as in original)*

The word 'project' is explicitly dismissed here. An explicit attempt is made to disassociate IP from the connotations with projects and project management. IP is constructed as open-ended and exploratory, and the facilitator as activist and adventurer. Even in this strong example of IP being constructed as community empowerment, references are made to the representation of IP as government control. A resistance to this representation or to the understanding of IP as 'projects' is made. This supports the argument that social representations of IP are dichotomous and both representations may be present. Efforts can be made to promote one representation and resist the other, as seen in the extract above. Across the majority of the documents, constructions of IP

and of the IP facilitator contain both representations: government control and community empowerment. Through acknowledging that social representations such as IP as government control, inform and shape action, implications for the promotion of social change become clearer. In treating documents and guides to practice as static sources of information, mainstream psychological research into IP and social change has neglected the role of such documents in shaping and constructing the nature of practice. In examining this otherwise taken for granted guidance on practice, the present research has addressed calls for a more critical approach to the study of social change (Howarth, 2006; Campbell & Cornish, 2010; Murray, 2004) and also offered an empirical example of the potential of social representations theory for political psychological phenomena (Elchereth, Doise & Reicher, 2011).

5.4.1.3 Intergenerational practice as both government control and community empowerment

The most common construction in the documents, appearing most explicitly, is neither IP as government control nor as community empowerment but IP as a both government control and community empowerment. The presence of competing knowledge systems or cognitive polyphasia is not uncommon in understandings of health and social issues (Smith & Joffe, 2013). Again, as stated earlier, this is not to suggest that some documents construct IP as government control and others as community empowerment but instead a polyphasic understanding of IP appears *within* as well as across documents. In the content of the documents, this polyphasia appears where both of these representations

of IP are illustrated together. A tension is created as the representations of government control and community empowerment are in strong contradiction. They appear as dichotomies; a contradiction in principles, simultaneously represented.

The following quote illustrates this tension as regards the nature of IP. This section of text appears in the introductory pages of the Beth Johnson Foundation 'A guide to Intergenerational Practice' under the subheading 'Intergenerational Practice in context':

"It's also about devolving power from central government to local councils and communities and giving local people more control over decision-making in their areas. Services more devolved to neighbourhood level is planned to bring a more socially active and responsible society and intergenerational activity has an essential part to play in all this." (Doc 3, p4)

Here, in the same paragraph equal emphasis is placed on 'giving local people more control' and creating a 'responsible society'. The former evokes the representation of IP as community empowerment and the latter as government control. The document describes the devolving of power yet also describes the purpose of this as being to produce an ideal type of society through participation. This evidence echoes Peterson and Lupton's (1996) critique of participation strategies. They describe participation as a practice of self-discipline, a means of governmentality in the age of the new public health. Here the clearly defined power structure depicting either the 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' nature of IP becomes 'muddled'. The nature of IP is less clear as representations of both

government control and community empowerment are evident. Whereas in the above quote the conflict between government control and community empowerment is relatively implicit, in the following quote this tension is much more explicit:

“There are a number of definitions, toolkits and manuals around as Intergenerational Practice pushes its way to the top of the agenda, however throughout this process it is important to remember to listen to your communities and run your projects in line with their wants and needs.” (Doc 5, p3)

This reference to the nature of IP appears to construct the practice as community empowerment. Emphasis is placed on ‘listening’ to the needs of the community and the facilitation of a ‘bottom-up’ process is valued. Also evident here, however, is an explicit attempt to caution against IP as government control. There is a clear awareness of IP as a potential tool for governmentality and this representation is resisted in the third line of the quote. The phrase ‘however throughout this process it is important to remember to listen’ advocates reflexive practice and engagement with the needs of the community.

In drawing upon these two opposed social representations, IP as government control and as community empowerment, a polyphasic understanding of IP emerges. These antinomies both appear to construct the nature of IP and the role of the facilitator. Often both concepts are present and conflicting; in other instances government control is explicitly resisted whilst community empowerment is promoted.

At times the documents talk explicitly about how IP can help achieve national and local policy objectives; others make reference to Cameron's 'Big Society' agenda whilst others make more implicit references to how to produce ideal citizens. Few guides or toolkits are aimed directly at community members or representatives. Aiming these at local authorities and experts in community work is understandable as these people are likely to be experienced in project management and locating adequate funding and resources for an initiative though a consequence of this is that the community and its needs may not be wholly and truly represented. IP often works through local authorities to achieve different communities' needs, effectively establishing a power structure (see figure 5.2) which may then be a barrier to communities achieving social change.

The somewhat prescriptive nature of some of the guides and the notion of identifying an 'IP' runs the risk of IP for IP's sake, as a tokenistic endeavour rather than IP for the promotion of positive social change. The risk is of falling into a 'tick box' exercise trap where IP becomes more like running an experiment than a catalyst for real social change. A challenge therefore for IP and its advocates would be to clearly negotiate the purpose of IP.

Peterson and Lupton (1996) critiqued the role of experts in the empowerment of citizens suggesting that experts identify barriers to participation such as a lack of awareness or conflicts between expert and lay decision making. Piette (1990) suggested that health professionals base their judgements on scientific 'objective' knowledge whereas lay people base their judgements on common sense 'subjective' evaluations. He stated that

conflicts are likely to arise in situations where lay people face an expert consensus in routine decisions. Notably, Piette (1990) called for the need to train community representatives to better understand how experts approach problems but makes no reference to the need for experts to better understand the perspectives of lay people. This top-down perspective is frequently echoed in the IP documents analysed here. The role of the IP facilitator or project manager is emphasised as being central and participants are seen as valuable consultants or collaborators on the periphery.

Social representations serve a communicative function (Moscovici, 1976). Often polyphasic knowledge, characterised by antinomies such as government control/community empowerment points to the existence of opposing goals or communicative functions. Different authors have explored the notion of contradiction in social representations in different ways. Tuval and Orr (2009) studied social representations of children with disabilities in two Israeli elementary schools. They discovered that professionals in schools simultaneously represented the school as both inclusive and stratified in regards to pupils with disabilities. The social representation of inclusion was found in the ideology of the school and was elicited through interviews with school staff. The dichotomous representation of stratification was found instead in the practices of the staff and elicited through ethnographic observations. Hence one representation was ideological and one provided a frame for action within the classroom.

IP texts could be understood to serve two communicative functions. They offer a source of information about what IP is and they also provide a frame for action, guiding

facilitators in the development of implementation of IP. All of the guidelines analysed were published relatively recently, reflecting the nature of IP as a relatively new tool for the promotion of social change. Social representations of government control and community empowerment may reflect these different communicative functions. Community empowerment may reflect the collectivist ideology of IP though in order to make sense of 'doing' IP, it is anchored in existing public health practices which focus on changing individual behaviours rather than promoting collective action. A social representation of IP as government control emerges when knowledge of IP is anchored in institutional cultures which emphasise individual change. Ideologically, the nature of IP is represented as 'bottom-up' community engagement facilitated by social activists and driven by the community's own needs and values. In practice, such empowerment may be difficult to orchestrate therefore IP is represented as 'top-down' in nature, administrative and based on national objectives and targets. This latter representation helps those social agents involved (developers and facilitators) make sense of this unfamiliar practice by anchoring it in the familiar.

5.4.2 Equality and inclusion versus inequality and segregation

When proposing intergenerational activities, the documents raise the importance of 'mutually beneficial activities'. This phrase appears in the well-cited Beth Johnson Foundation definition of the aims of IP and therefore mutuality and inclusion appear to be central to defining the purpose of the practice. This focus serves to guide practitioners in providing activities that will engage and benefit both the younger and older

participants. Great efforts are made to present younger and older people as equal in status. Both older and younger people are represented as two vulnerable populations which may both experience discrimination, stigma and marginalisation. Often however, whilst equality in role and status is promoted in the language of the documents, there appears to be an inequality in the way older and younger participants are represented.

5.4.2.1 Participants as equal in status

The notion of equality dominated descriptions of IP and many of the documents stressed the importance of viewing older and younger as equal in status. The prevalence of the term in definitions of IP demonstrates equality as a value underpinning IP's ideology. Equality appears to be at the heart of the following section which appears under the heading 'UNDERSTANDING INTERGENERATIONAL PRACTICE: What it is':

"Intergenerational practice is based on the principle that older and younger people work together in an equal power relationship, for their benefit and the benefit of their local community. By giving people a time, place and structure to do this, it helps different generations share their past, present and hopes for the future." (Doc 11, p5)

A similar emphasis also appeared in this extract:

“By coming together people of all ages have the capacity to inspire and encourage each other, to learn about and from each other, and to benefit mutually from each other’s experience, energy and skills.” (Doc 2, p3)

Both of the above quotes refer to mutual benefits and construct a representation of younger and older people as equal in status. The latter quote emphasises equality among people of all ages, though IP focuses on those defined as younger or older. Equality is deemed central to achieving IP’s goal of promoting positive social change. Both extracts here refer to collaborative action in order to achieve social change and this action is underpinned by values of equality and inclusion. This representation of participants as equal in status is evident not only in the language of the documents but is also evident in their authorship. One document contains a foreword, jointly written by the Cabinet Members for Adult Social Services and Children’s Services (Doc 10, p. 2). This same document includes the phrase “Helping all ages to age well” on its cover and pictures of both older and younger people together.

5.4.2.2 Participants as unequal in status

Despite a social representations of IP participants as equality in status, there also appeared to be a social representation of inequality and segregation present in the documents. Older and younger people are represented as different in status as well as in their degree of vulnerability, risk and role in intergenerational encounters. A representation of inequality in status is perhaps most evident in the nature of the documents themselves; in their function more than in their content. The most prominent

way in which inequality of status is represented is in the unequal distribution of the documents (see Figure 5.3). Seven of the 15 documents are written by, for, or in collaboration with organisations or services for older adults (e.g., Age UK and the Beth Johnson Foundation) rather than organisations or services younger people. Additionally another seven of the documents are written by, for, or in collaboration with non-age specific organisations (e.g., community or intergenerational organisations). Only one of the documents included here was written in association with an organisation for younger people (i.e. The National Youth Agency). This bias serves to position IP as a practice of interest to facilitators working with older communities rather than younger communities. It implies that IP is a tool for facilitators experienced in working with older people and is a tool beneficial for older people rather than both older and younger people.

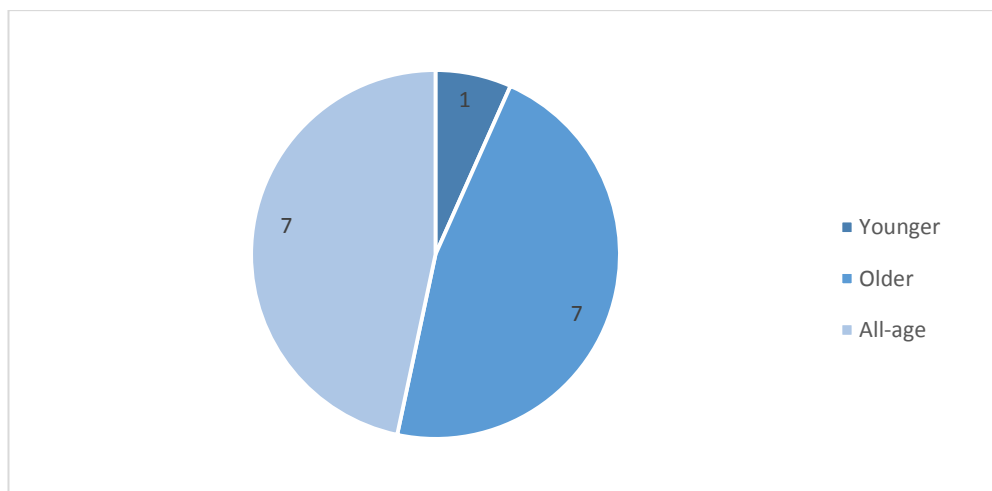


Figure 5.3. Type of service/organisation documents are aimed at or disseminated by

This bias also appears in the content of the documents. Many of the documents use the dilemma of an ageing population as an argument for the implementation of IP. Document 6 is a good example of this. Here, the preface and introduction provide a rationale for conducting IP. Demographic shifts and statistics regarding a global ageing population dominate as do the social and economic consequences of this. This focus illustrates underlying representations of older people as vulnerable and problematic. Young people are relatively absent from this discussion and are only referred to at one point towards the end of the two page preface:

“The recognition that discords between the generations is a phenomenon appearing throughout all societies and eras, it deeply depends on social and economic circumstances, and helps us in seeing that young people are receptive to bridge the gap between generations, which social problems such as unemployment, poverty, exclusion and racism make wider.” (Doc 6, p5-6)

Furthermore, on page five is a large image of a male child holding a football sized globe in his arms. The boy is gazing down at the globe and smiling. Both the quote and the image together illustrate how younger people are represented as a resource. They are not represented as equal in vulnerability or power to older people but instead as a resource to help deal with the aforementioned issues associated with an ageing society.

The bias towards older people persists and was sometimes evident also in the document titles. Document seven is titled “Strategy for older people in Wales: A Strategy for

intergenerational practice in Wales”, not a strategy for younger people or communities but keeping “older people” at the forefront of the documents on IP. This potentially serves to construct older people rather than younger people as those in need of IP or it positions those in older people’s services and organisations as those most equipped to facilitate IP. A consequence of this is that younger people may be represented as a resource rather than in a position of equal need or power and older people as dependent upon IP.

5.4.2.3 Tensions in the status of the participants between equality and inequality

Often equality is placed at the forefront when defining IP. Simultaneously older people’s and not younger people’s services are the targets of toolkits and guides. This contrast in the representation of participants’ status is further evidenced below. The following quotes seek, in particular, to evidence such contractions *within* the documents and not just across them. These show where the participants of IP are (simultaneously within the same line of thought) represented as both equal and unequal, creating a tension. The following quote highlights this tension particularly well:

“Core principles of Intergenerational Practice.

Intergenerational Practice (IP) is based on the principle of all participating generations gaining benefit. By working together, both groups also ensure that important traditional skills are maintained for future generations.” (Doc 5, p4)

This section of text begins by reiterating the principle of equality and mutual benefit seen in many of the documents. The latter section however, describes the need to maintain traditional skills for future generations, suggestive of a 'passing on through the generations'. Consequently, this implicitly constructs younger people as those needing to learn skills from older people. Maintaining traditional skills implies the older person as teacher and younger person as student and risks perpetuating the stereotype of older people being uninterested or incapable of learning new skills. Though some IP projects are purposively structured in this way, here the principles of equality and mutuality are emphasised and subsequently blurred. In contrast, on some occasions, the ambiguity or tension between equal and unequal status was explicitly referred to. The following section appeared in the foreword to one of the documents:

"This strategy has grown out of our Strategy for Older People and, whilst we see it as an essential step in taking intergenerational approaches forward, we recognise that further work needs to be undertaken to ensure that our approach is owned equally by all of the generations." (Doc 7, p4)

Here the inequality between the participants is acknowledged and explicitly resisted. Emphasis is placed on equal ownership of intergenerational approaches. This illustrates an awareness of both representations; that of equality and of inequality of status between participants. IP therefore can be seen to be anchored in traditional more static notions of age roles; younger volunteers 'serving the community' and 'care in the community' where older people are represented as wise mentors and holders of

traditional knowledge. Simultaneously, IP is objectified through the construction metaphor of 'bridging the gap' between old and young. Cognitive polyphasia results from the attempt to promote an ideology of equality and mutuality while anchoring this in more traditional or stereotypical age roles.

I have discussed how within the IP documents older participants are frequently described as key contributors to society and resources of knowledge whereas younger people are frequently described as the 'volunteers' or in need of mentors. Whilst these distinctions may be appropriate in certain contexts, at other times they risk perpetuating age stereotypes.

This is not to suggest that some of the documents position one generation unfairly, instead the findings suggests that some place a greater deal of emphasis on one generation as being in need of IP or being more vulnerable to societal changes. Examples of this tension in the documents include a focus solely on older people's needs as a rationale for IP whilst suggesting that activities should be of equal interest to both younger and older people.

Like with government control and community empowerment, the dichotomy of equality and inequality illustrates a clash between collectivist values and individualist practices. Clearly the extracts presented here have demonstrated how practice documents promote values of equality and inclusion however there was key evidence of a focus predominately on older people when the distribution of the documents across

organisations was considered (Figure 5.3). Through examining the documents as a frame for action, or through looking at the social practices surrounding the use of the documents (or at least their intended use) a picture of how they help to construct older and younger participants has emerged. Evidently it is the social practices surrounding the use of the documents that promotes representations of younger and older people as unequal in status. A representation in conflict to the values of equality and inclusion promoted in principle in the content of the documents. As discussed in the previous section, in order to make sense of IP, social representations have been anchored in familiar health and social practices. The social representation of IP participants as unequal and segregated in status reflects the age segregated nature of social institutions within the UK. Hagestad (2006) described how ingrained age segregation is in western culture and in western institutions in particular therefore even where a principle of equality and inclusion is promoted this may be harder to obtain in practice. Of course, it is also important to consider the reciprocal relationship between values and practices. Social representations theory emphasises how values do not necessarily inform practices in a linear manner. The relationship between them is reciprocal. Social representations are evident in practices and in values meaning that practices are not value-free. Therefore where practices promote a representation of older and younger people as unequal in status, this contributes to an understanding of older and younger as being unequal in status. In summary, these polyphasic, and more specifically, dichotomous social representations of older and younger participants appeared to emerge from an attempt

to promote values of equality and inclusion within a culture of practice focused on maintaining older and younger people as unequal within age segregated institutions.

5.4.3 Hard outcomes versus soft aims

The dichotomy here refers to social representations of aims and outcomes of IP. 'Hard' outcomes dominated the practice texts, evident in references to observable contact as well as tangible, measurable, 'hard' outcomes such as the number of participants involved and the amount of time participants engaged in IP. In contrast, the most prominent aims discussed were social psychological aims such as community cohesion and social change through the facilitation of meaningful encounters with others.

Social psychological elements feature prominently within the aims of IP. As well as 'social change' more broadly, other elements include 'Increased mutual understanding' and a 'reduction in age related prejudice'. Despite these aims, evaluations of initiatives favour tangible outcomes such as the number of links made between community organisations, number of participants who completed an initiative or the tangible outcomes of intergenerational activities, which might include a piece of collaborative art, writing, gardening and a wide range of other outputs. Such outcomes demonstrate the successes of intergenerational initiatives and provide 'hard' evidence to justify investment in these. These tangible outcomes do however tell us little about changes to the social psychological features suggested to be so integral to the aims of IP.

A preoccupation with the tangible and measurable can also be seen in the way that intergenerational encounters are represented in the documents. Essential to the nature of IP is “the bringing together of different age groups” and more often than not this is a *physical* meeting of older and younger people. Much focus in the documents is therefore on the nature of the contact between the different age groups. Some suggest that the strength or frequency of contact is related to the success of the initiative. A focus on the logistics and hours of time engaged in activities in IP means that often the concept of contact is often reduced to the number of collaborative meetings rather than a focus on facilitating meaningful encounters. It is clear from the aims and objectives stated in each of the documents that IP does aim to facilitate meaningful encounters and positive social change therefore a preoccupation with contact may present barriers to fully understanding age encounters. The parallel pre-occupation with tangible outcomes rather than social psychological ones may also help to explain why the social psychology of IP remains underexplored.

The evidence presented below seeks to illustrate both ends of the social aims/hard outcomes dichotomy. First, evidence to illustrate representations of IP as social in its aims and outcomes will be presented. Subsequently, evidence to illustrate the opposite will be presented. Finally evidence from the documents will be presented in order to illustrate the tension in the nature of understanding regarding aims and outcomes of IP.

5.4.3.1 Social psychological aims and meaningful encounters

All of the documents refer to the social psychological features of IP in some form or other. Many of the documents list the aims of IP or state potential benefits and many of these are of a psychological nature. One document extensively lists the benefits of IP for older people, younger people and the community. Of the sixteen benefits of IP listed, eleven of these are of a highly social psychological nature such as “Increased motivation”, “increased perception of self worth”, “improved wellbeing”, “increased self-esteem and resilience” and “improved community cohesion”. (Doc 9, p.5). The prevalence of these aims suggests that projects would benefit from social psychological investigation in order to better understand how exactly IP works to achieve aims such as these.

Similarly the list below is a good example of how the documents emphasise the social psychological aims of IP. The list presented here appears as in the guide itself under the heading “Benefits of Intergenerational Practice”:

“Helping to break down the barriers between the generations and groups within communities.

Building an active community

Promoting citizenship.

Promoting mutual understanding within communities.

Regenerating neighbourhoods.

Active participation in lifelong learning for all.

Increase in the well-being of individuals and communities.

Reducing feelings of isolation.

Increase in Social Capital.

Reducing fear of crime and risky behaviour.

Improved self-esteem and confidence.

Better cultural understanding.” (Doc 5, p9)

The majority of the documents list the social psychological benefits of IP in a similar way to the example above, hence representing IP as a tool for achieving positive social psychological change. The encounters between old and young represent the hub of activity in IP. Often the aim of IP is represented as a facilitation of meaningful encounters between different aged people, beyond ‘contact’ alone. The following quote is taken from a document with one whole page dedicated to guiding the facilitator in how to introduce the different age groups to one another in a structured and well-organised manner:

“Introducing the groups

When the group meets for the first time, try to create an environment of security where friendship and cooperation can start to develop. The venue should be local and provide a safe environment for both groups. Prior

preparation, such as name tags and designated seats, can also encourage people to feel more at ease.” (Doc 8, p11)

The focus here is on much more than contact, it is about the nature of the initial meeting, the surrounding environment and the facilitation of meaningful engagement with one and other. Practical support is suggested in order to help facilitate this; there is a clear goal of facilitating friendship and cooperation. Another document highlights meaningful encounters as a core principle of IP:

“Core principles of Intergenerational Practice

The young and old are the victims of ageist attitudes to varying degrees across Europe. IP provides a mechanism for the generations to meet each other, to work and explore together and from this rediscover the reality of who they really are and what they have to gain from being more involved with the other generations.” (Doc 5, p5)

The purpose of intergenerational contact here is represented as something beyond just working together in a mutual space. Instead it involves self-reflection and discovery, an opportunity to re-construct the self. The latter illustrates much more of a personal development orientation to IP. In both of the above two quotes the intergenerational encounter is represented as something meaningful. Furthermore there is recognition that such ‘meaningful encounters’ cannot simply be prescribed. Instead the guides offer

practical support and guidance on how such encounters might best be facilitated rather than offering prescriptive guidance on how this should be conducted.

5.4.3.2 Hard aims and outcomes

Equally prominent in the documents and in direct contrast to understanding IP as interested in soft aims, are understandings of IP as measurable, focused on tangible individual outcomes and observable contact. The evidence below illustrates these representations, firstly exploring those of measurable outcomes more broadly before exploring 'contact'. This first quote is taken from a page entitled 'An important note to people using this guideline' and appears on one of the final pages of the document. It demonstrates the importance placed on measurable outcomes:

"An important note to people using this guideline

*Consultation on the contents of this resource indicated that evaluation has become an increasingly important aspect of IP management for organisations, staff and volunteers working in all sectors if they are to evidence the impact of their work. Evaluation enables projects to discover what works, what doesn't work and how to measure the difference that is being made. This can help with project and business planning and lead to the delivery of better services. It also allows better reporting which means the organisations can be more accountable to funders, stakeholders and to the people who use services. Projects that are not **outcome focused** will find it*

extremely challenging to evaluate their value and to evidence this.” (Doc 2, p.17 emphasis as in original)

It is suggested here that evaluation is essential for accountability and the planning and management of services. Evaluation is framed as an administrative duty. Such pressure on IP facilitators may contribute to a focus on those outcomes that are most easily observed, measured and communicated to stakeholders. Measurement difficulties in evaluating social psychological aims are indeed spoken about elsewhere in the documents:

“If as one of its aims, a mentoring project is concerned with reducing truancy in a school, then the change in truancy rate will have to be indicated as an outcome (this can eventually be measured at the evaluation stage). There will be other aims and outcomes that are not easily measurable but just as important.” (Doc 4, p14)

Though these are not specified, it is suggested that there will be aims and outcomes that are not easily measured but are just as important. Little guidance is given in the documents on how to measure social psychological outcomes or other outcomes which are not as tangible and observable as school attendance.

A closer look at the audience of these documents may help to explain this lack of guidance. The documents analysed here are representative of IP guides to best practice and share a common audience – the potential IP facilitator. Although IP may be facilitated by a broad scope of people, many of the documents appear to be targeted towards those

with expertise in community development. In Document 11 for example, it states that its audience is “People working in Manchester in community development, neighbourhood management and regeneration”. This focus may contribute to a focus on tangible outcomes rather than psycho-social outcomes (in two documents these are referred to as ‘soft’ outcomes). This document explicitly states that the toolkit is aimed at those involved in the ‘practical’ side of community work rather than social workers, psychologists, academics or others whose work may focus more on the social psychological elements of community work which are a large focus of IP.

In keeping with the above suggestion that outcomes may be matched to the type of facilitator, a parallel emphasis is also placed upon ‘contact’. Levels of contact between older and younger people appear to be a key factor in measuring IP. This may similarly be due to ease of measurement as contact can be observed and recorded in terms of hours spent in intergenerational encounters. Contact can therefore be quantified and easily communicated unlike the measurement of a meaningful encounter. The latter may require research training, the careful consideration of research tools and techniques to explore the nature of the encounter. Furthermore, the end result may be lengthy and not be as easily communicated to stakeholders (particularly funders) as a figure, table or graph. The quote below shows how central contact is in implementing IP:

“Implementing Intergenerational Practice

It is useful to see its local implementation as a continuum that tracks the levels of contact with and between participating generations.” (Doc 3, p5)

In describing this continuum a scale was presented across an entire page where contact ranged from “1 – Low level of contact: Learn about the other age group”, through “3 - Meeting each other”, “5 – Demonstration projects” to 7 – High level of contact: Intergenerational community settings”. A note at the bottom of the page indicates that the intergenerational contact scale has been adapted from an article in the *Journal of Family & Consumer Sciences* – this may lend an increased sense of authenticity, helping to legitimise IP as contact oriented. The notion of contact was most often used in the documents as it was in the above, as a means of representing the intergenerational encounter and orientating IP. At other times however, contact was used to highlight risk, personal safety and boundaries. The quote below illustrates how IP requires the careful negotiation of contact:

“Issues to discuss together at this stage include: appropriate boundaries, language and physical contact; confidential information; child protection; recording the work (for example use of photographs); and creative outcomes.” (Doc 11, p12)

Details are provided in this document on how to carefully negotiate the type of contact between younger and older participants. Negotiating contact appears to be deemed a central and skilful task concerned with the protection of participants (particularly children).

5.4.3.3 Tensions in the aims and outcomes

Unlike the dichotomy of government control and community empowerment, unequal and equal, the tension between hard outcomes and soft aims is one which is very explicitly acknowledged within the documents. This can be somewhat expected as the former two dichotomies refer to the nature of the practice and the participants whereas hard outcomes versus soft aims refers to the aims and outcomes to IP. As guides to practice, much of the content within the documents refers to aims and outcomes. Potential problem areas, contradictions and tensions were often dealt with quite reflexively, presenting any such challenges to the reader and IP facilitator. Highlighted below are some strong examples of where the tension between soft aims and hard outcomes of IP have been acknowledged. One document referred to a series of self-assessment questions regarding the outcomes of an initiative:

“Have all outcomes been tangible and measurable or have some been ‘softer’ but still worthwhile? How can these be captured?” (Doc 9, p15)

This brief quote captures the tension between hard and soft and the problematic nature of monitoring and evaluating ‘softer’ outcomes. These are implicitly constructed as something of less value and more difficult to measure than ‘hard’ outcomes. The pressure to demonstrate ‘hard outcomes’ is recognised in document 3 under the heading ‘Monitoring and Evaluation’:

“In the ‘more for less’ environment, the competition for resources is becoming increasingly fierce within and between organisations. Consequently, demonstrating the wider benefits of any policy action is more crucial than ever. In common with many areas of social action based in communities, those advocating Intergenerational Practice at local level will need to address the perceived tensions between what have become known as ‘hard’ (quantitative) and ‘soft’ (qualitative) outcomes.” (Doc 3, p12)

This highly reflexive quote from the Beth Johnson Foundation guide to practice might be more expected due to the organisation’s long history and experience in IP. The guide highlights a concern that outcomes need to clearly demonstrate benefits and both quantitative and qualitative outcomes need to be addressed.

The quote below from a different document parallels this same level of engagement with the tension between hard outcomes and soft aims however this time is concerned with meaningful encounters. The quote appears under the heading ‘Building positive relations between generations’:

“It is often said that there are fewer opportunities for different generations to meet one another/ This implies that they met often in the past, and that if they met more frequently nowadays, relations and understanding between the two would be better. But we know from experience that just bringing together two generations and hoping for the best can be unhelpful.

We assume that more contact between generations would be a good thing for those involved and for the wider community. And we tend to focus on what young people can learn from older people so that they can change for the better, without considering how older people can change". (Doc 11, p16)

There is an explicit acknowledgement here that IP is about more than 'bringing together two generations and hoping for the best'. This document advocated against focusing on intergenerational contact as means of determining the success of a project and recognises that there has existed a tendency to do this. There is acknowledgement that others may represent IP as a more simplified contact between generations however this representation of IP is resisted in favour of a representation of IP concerned with meaningful encounters. In principle IP has a broad range of social psychological aims and its ethos is about striving for social change at both an individual and community level. This emphasis is very prominent within the documents. In contrast, there is little guidance about how such aims might be realised, monitored, analysed or evaluated. Good evaluation is promoted however such evaluation centres on tangible, more easily measured individual outcomes. In a similar vein, a focus on contact may 'blind' facilitators to the need to establish and facilitate meaningful encounters between participants. The tension between hard and soft aims and outcomes was often explicitly acknowledged either to highlight practical issues with measurement and providing evidence or in order to explicitly resist representations of IP as a measured and observable phenomenon.

As with the first two dimensions discussed in this chapter, the dichotomous social representations of hard outcomes versus soft aims can likewise be traced to the underpinning themata of individualism/collectivism. In this instance, in order to communicate IP as a guide to action, the unfamiliar yet clearly highly valued 'soft' collective aims clash with existing evaluation tools within health services. Consequently, understandings of IP are anchored in familiar evaluation techniques which favour individual indicators of success. More than any of the other dimensions, the tension between hard outcomes and soft aims mirrors the issues discussed throughout Chapter 2. That is that in principle IP values social, collective change but in practice this is more challenging due to a reliance on incompatible yet familiar evaluation techniques which have emphasised the observable and individual.

5.5 The role of individualism/collectivism in shaping social representations of IP in text

Moscovici (1992) proposed that themata drive all common sense thinking and therefore all social representations. Because research on social representations has focused more on lay thinking than scientific, little research has examined the themata at the root of more scientific or reified knowledge. The texts analysed here consist of the most 'scientific' version of IP. Such guides are produced by local and national organisations and services in order for facilitators to deliver or help develop practice. Markova (2003) suggested that the themata which shape and give rise to social representations are usually deeply rooted in culture. The present findings show how the themata

individualism/collectivism is rooted in institutional culture surrounding IP development and has therefore given rise to a diverse and polyphasic representational field in relation to understanding IP and how it attempts to promote social change. The values which drive IP as a tool for social change are evidently prominent within the IP documents. Community empowerment, equality and collective, social and 'soft' aims are championed. Tension emerges most in the documents' discussions of how to act upon and implement IP. It is in these sections of text or in analysing the function of documents that social representations underpinned by individualism emerged. The authors of the IP documents, in communicating how to conduct IP, anchored social representations in more familiar largely individual focused evaluation tools. Such practices are largely misaligned with the more collectivist values promoted within IP, though social representations serve to make the unfamiliar familiar (Moscovici, 1972). Through this anchoring of IP, in existing evaluations and institutional culture (e.g. age segregated services) the documents have served to grant the practice a degree of familiarity.

5.6 Social representations of intergenerational practice in texts: personal reflections

Earlier in this chapter I acknowledged that the rationale for the present study was in part informed by my early observations of an IP which appeared less attractive than the grassroots tool for change I had envisioned. Consequently, I held responsibility as a qualitative researcher to conduct the research with full awareness of this phenomenological encounter with the field. Many qualitative researchers engage in the

concept of bracketing (Tufford & Newman, 2010: 1) to “mitigate the potentially deleterious effects of preconceptions that may taint the research process” through being honest and vigilant about pre-conceptions of the phenomenon of interest.

The unsolicited nature of the data in the present study could have ‘mitigated’ some effects of my preconceptions of IP however there was still a need to acknowledge my subjectivity in interpreting the data and presenting the findings. Shaw (2010) argues that reflexivity in data analysis and interpretation is often neglected in favour of reflexivity in relation to the research design.

The coding framework gave a deductive skeletal structure to the initial analytic stages. The drive to identify key concepts from the literature better enabled me to suspend some of my judgements regarding IP. As I had developed a somewhat critical image of IP, throughout the analytic process I was conscious not to be blinded by these. Though I had observed how IP could be very strategic and top-down in nature, I made efforts to code with an open-mind and capture the full scope of concept constructions and assumptions. Ultimately, the series of dichotomous representations which resulted from the analysis captures a tension evident in the documents in evident in my own understanding of IP.

What struck me most was the scale of such tensions. I had a preconceived idea that IP was somehow characterised by both notions of governmentality and community empowerment though I had not anticipated that these conflicting representations would be within as well as across documents. My assumption would have been that such

conflict existed across organisations, some favouring grassroots action and others expert-led intervention. Instead, the conflict which emerged left me with a picture of a 'struggle' faced by organisations to promote IP in a way which fits both the communities needs and fits broader agenda.

5.7 Chapter summary

This chapter detailed the methods and research findings in relation to the specific research questions 1) How is IP constructed in documents and guidelines? and 2) What are the underlying assumptions and values within IP? By addressing both of these questions, a clearer answer to the main research question (How does IP attempt to promote social change?) emerged. A sample of 15 accessible and popular IP documents were analysed for both content and function using a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) guided also by Prior's (2008) concept of documents as active agents. Findings revealed that IP documents reflect a polyphasic understanding of IP characterised by a series of dichotomies in relation to the nature of IP, its facilitators, participants and aims and outcomes. IP was simultaneously understood as both a means of government control and community empowerment. Facilitators of practice were simultaneously understood as employees of the state and community activists. Participants were simultaneously represented in conflicting ways, as equal and as unequal in status and finally, a conflict in understanding between 'soft' aims and 'hard' outcomes resulted in mixed messages regarding the purpose of IP. I argued that the source of this tension was the underpinning theme of individualism/collectivism. While IP values and principles largely reflected a

collectivist ideology, as a frame for action, the documents anchored social representations in individual-focused evaluation tools and institutional culture.

6 Intergenerational practice in talk: how facilitators make sense of practice

“Time is neutral and does not change things. With courage and initiative, leaders change things.”

- Jesse Jackson

6.1 Chapter overview

This chapter presents the analysis from interviews with community project facilitators working with different aged communities across the city of Stoke-on-Trent. It seeks to highlight the polyphasic nature of facilitators’ representations of IP and the themata underpinning them. All social representations were underpinned by the thema individualism/collectivism while social representations of IP participants and facilitators were also shaped by the thema us/them (see Figure 6.1). Social representations of IP to the left refer to more reductionist representation anchored in out-dated institutional practices. Here IP is reduced to a focus upon mechanistic intergenerational contact, participants are represented as vulnerable and the facilitator represented as governor of community projects. Conversely, the themes to the right refer to more dynamic and holistic representations of IP informed by discourses of community empowerment, health promotion and active ageing. This chapter details the methodological procedures employed in conducting this study. The main focus of the chapter is a discussion of how facilitators’ talk of their role and of IP drew upon and circulated conflicting social representations.

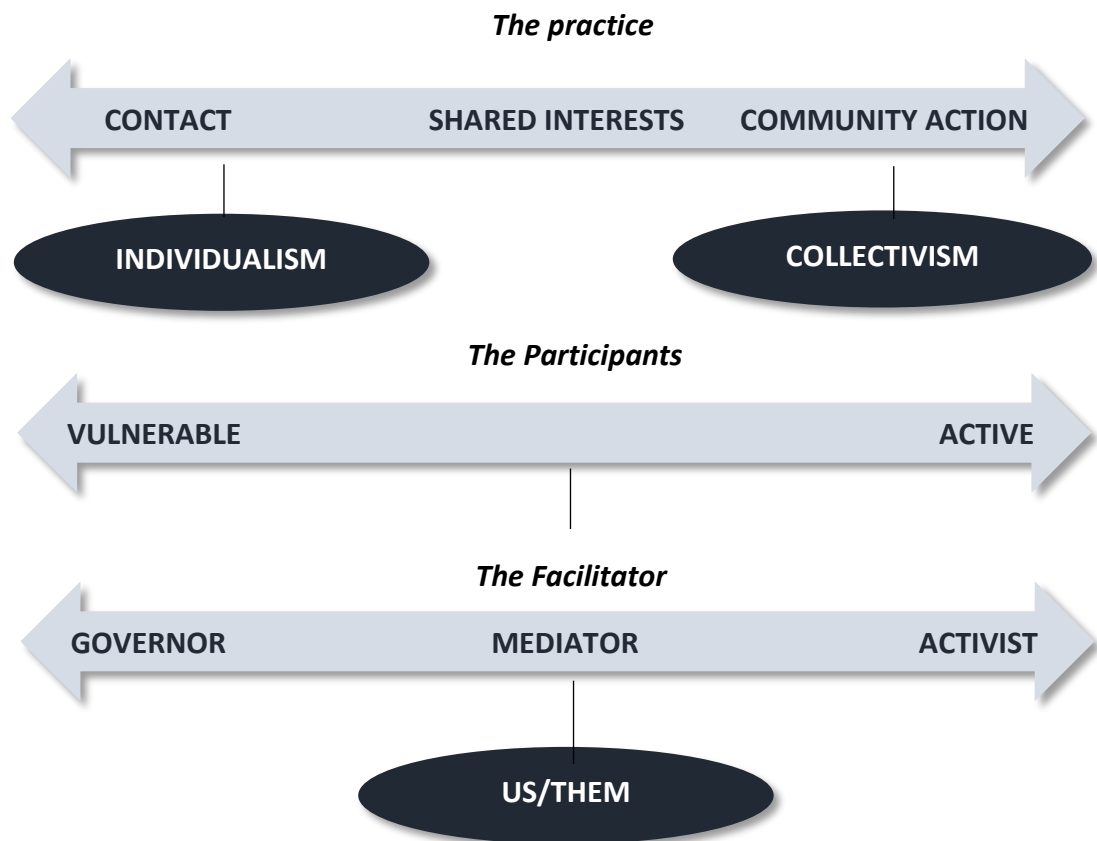


Figure 6.1. Cognitive polyphasia in facilitators' social representations of IP, underpinned by the themata individualism/collectivism and us/them

6.2 Research aims

The overarching study aims were to explore the relationship between IP and social change. The present study addressed this aim by exploring how facilitators and potential facilitators of IP construct the practice, how they understand the practice and the implications of this understanding. In addition, it sought to help build a picture of community development practices within one particular city and identify opportunities

and barriers to the promotion of IP. The aims for this study are summarised in the following research questions:

1. What social representations characterise facilitators' talk of intergenerational practice?
2. What role do social representations play in facilitators' talk of intergenerational practice and those who participate in it?
3. What do facilitators perceive as opportunities and barriers to developing IP?

6.3 Method

Chapter Four detailed the broader methodological approach informing this study. The following sections include discussion of the finer methodological details.

6.3.1 The sample

Eighteen facilitators were recruited to participate in a semi-structured interview. The common feature of the sample was that these were all individuals working within the city of Stoke-on-Trent, facilitating community initiatives in community settings. The sample forms a symbolic group rather than a natural one as many of the facilitators had not had contact with one another (though many also had). Most were not in direct communication with one another yet they were positioned to influence the development of representations about communities they work with (Flick & Foster, 2008). Some facilitators in the sample worked exclusively or mostly with either older or younger people, others worked with people of all ages (see table 6.1). The facilitators also varied

in regards to type of involvement with the community. Some rarely worked in direct contact with community members and these are referred to here as rear-line workers. An overview of the numbers of facilitators working in each of these roles can be seen in table 6.1. Table 6.2 provides a small description of each of the facilitators' role alongside their allocated pseudonym. Rear-line workers included managers and development directors with responsibilities for allocating funding towards community initiatives. At the opposite end of the spectrum are front-line workers, those who worked in direct contact with community members on almost a daily basis. This could be because they are directly implementing initiatives or liaising with the community as a part of their role. Renedo and Jovchelovitch (2007) similarly used a sample of voluntary sector workers in their study of representations of homelessness, allowing for a more inclusive insight into professionals in one particular field and geographical area. A third group was also evident within the current sample and they are referred to as planners. Planners often had a broader scope of roles ranging from planning and designing initiatives and liaising with local authorities, to working in direct contact with community members to deliver actions. The facilitators were recruited initially through contacts with local government and the project partners by contacting individuals met whilst networking and scoping the field (see Chapter 4.4). A snowball method was then employed to reach other organisations and individuals who were known to the participants because they worked in similar roles across the city.

Table 6.1. *Facilitators' position and population worked with.*

	Rearline	Planner	Frontline	Total
Younger	2	1	4	7
All age	1	2	0	3
Older	3	3	2	8
Total	6	6	6	

Table 6.2.

Facilitator pseudonyms and details of their role and relationship to the population they work with

Facilitator	Age group worked with	Role	Nature of work
John	Younger	Front line	With younger people delivering camps aimed at increasing skills and employability
Sharon	All age	Planner	Identifies interventions to help support families in learning
Rob	Younger	Front line	Youth housing and supports younger people to identify volunteering opportunities in the community
Ann	Older	Rearline	Local government, mostly helping older community members
Mark	Older	Rearline	Business development manager for a housing and community support scheme for older people

Brian	Younger	Planner	Youth training programme co-ordinator for 16-19 year olds wishing to develop employability skills
Martin	Younger	Front line	Allotment manager at a site aimed at engaging younger people in gardening
Cathy	Older	Planner	Activity co-ordinator at a sheltered housing facility for older people
Annette	Older	Rearline	Operations director for a range of community services including a telephone befriending scheme for older adults
Sarah	Older	Rearline	Community engagement officer, working predominately with older communities, organising health information provision
Nathan	Younger	Front line	Community engagement officer, working predominantly with younger communities, identifying their needs and interests as well as plans of action
Laura	Older	Planner	Community engagement officer working closely with both older communities and services aimed at tackling health inequalities in order to provide more information and better service provision to communities
Michelle	All age	Rearline	Identifying health and social inequalities via city wide indicators. Organising the delivery of services to address those inequalities
Sue	All age	Rearline	Managing library based services and promoting reading for pleasure and for

improved literacy

Rowena	All age	Frontline	Establishing relationships with small community groups to help them address their needs and identify funding and resources
Simon	All age	Frontline	Establishing relationships with small community groups to help them address their needs and identify funding and resources
James	Younger	Planner	Youth project co-ordinator. Facilitating community based courses for 16-19 year olds not in education or employment.
Barbara	Older	Planner	Organising information workshops and social activities for over 50's. Working with older people to identify service needs

6.3.2 The interview schedule

The interview schedule (Appendix G) consisted of two sections. The first comprised of questions relating to the community facilitator's role in the community and the nature of the communities they work with. Questions were open-ended throughout and in this section included questions such as "Could you tell me about the people you work with?", "What are their needs?" and "What thoughts or images come to mind when thinking about the communities you work with?" The latter half of the interview schedule aimed to illicit social representations of IP as well as perceived opportunities and barriers to the development of IP in Stoke-on-Trent. Questions in this latter section of the schedule included "What images or thoughts come to mind when you think about IP?", "Have you

had many discussions about IP? And “What would you expect successful IP to look like?”. The final question in the schedule was “Do you have any other thoughts on IP or anything else that you would like to share?”. This question often prompted further discussion or questions from the participant and as a result, most of the interviews came to a natural close. The format of the schedule aimed to make the interview feel as naturalistic as possible by beginning with questions about the role of the facilitator, their organisation and the communities they work with before exploring IP more specifically.

6.3.3 The interview procedure

Seventeen of the 18 interviews took place at individuals’ place of work. Most took place either at facilitators’ desk or in a separate room reserved for meetings. The one exception was a facilitator preferring to meet in a local café. Seeing facilitators in their usual place of work had many methodological advantages. The participants were able to punctuate and illustrate their talk with reference to their workplace surroundings. Often posters, documents, leaflets or other staff members were referenced to make a point which could have been missed or hindered by a foreign or different environment. Interviews ranged in length from 20 minutes to 65 minutes. All interviews were audio-recorded having obtained consent from the participants.

6.3.4 The feedback event

Following the completion of interviews in June 2014, transcription and preliminary analysis over the summer, a feedback event was scheduled for the morning of 28th

October 2014. This was arranged at the City Council offices, a location convenient for most interviewees. Invitation emails were sent to all 18 facilitators containing a PDF invitation (Appendix I). Five of the 18 facilitators attended the event at which a presentation on the background to the research and preliminary findings was given followed by questions, answers and informal discussion. This event served to strengthen both the rigor of the study as well as the relationships between stakeholders. In terms of rigor, the event allowed some respondent validation of the data to be gained, strengthening the confirmability of the findings. Guba and Lincoln (1994) highlight confirmability as one of four key facets in rigorous qualitative research. Participants commented upon the various preliminary themes, agreeing with the interpretations made as well as expanding upon these and offering further insights. As regards stakeholder relationships, the event allowed myself as researcher and outsider to strengthen connections with these community workers, an essential step in action research and therefore a foundational step prior to the final study. The event also served to strengthen relationships and form new connections between the community workers in attendance. Most appeared to be aware of each other's organisation and projects but many had not met formally prior to this event.

6.3.5 Strengths and limitations of the method

There were a number of strengths to the use of semi-structured interviews to address the research questions in this study. Focusing on one particular city where intergenerational work may be of benefit increased the likelihood that the findings from this sample could

be generalised to the city as a whole. A high degree of credibility (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) was achieved through interviewing various community workers across a small geographical area. Validity was strengthened through the use of respondent validation following the interviews and preliminary analyses. The insights gained through the findings may also transfer to others working in community development in similar cities across the UK however generalisability was not a goal here.

Focus groups may have offered an equally valid and rigorous method in which to investigate community facilitators' social representations however the recruitment of professionals to a focus group can prove logistically challenging as demonstrated by Smithson (2000) and also by the number of participants who were unable or unwilling to attend the feedback event following the completion of interviews.

Social representations hold a communicative function (Moscovici, 1988) and hence different representations may be drawn upon in different contexts. The interview context is only one of many. During the feedback event, one facilitator made an important note about language use, saying that the term 'intergenerational' is only ever something they would use on paper and not to publicise a community project. It is important not only to recognise the influence of the research context but also that representations are not static categorisations but instead are dynamic systems of knowledge. As the above anecdote highlights, facilitators may draw upon more formalised representations of IP in contexts that justify and legitimise this (e.g., funding applications). In other contexts, lay representations of IP may 'make more sense' (e.g., community event).

6.3.6 Analytic procedure

All interviews were transcribed verbatim. As with studies one and three, a thematic analysis guided by Braun and Clarke (2006) was used to analyse the interview transcripts. Burman (1994) suggested that thematic analysis offers a coherent way to manage and read data in order to address a research question. For this data set, the computer programme NVivo was used to assist in data management and analysis. The decision to use NVivo was made in part due to the large amount of data gathered in this study. NVivo allows large data sets to be managed more easily and efficiently (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). In line with Braun and Clarke's (2006) guidance, each transcript was read and re-read in order to become familiar with the data. During this stage initial notes were made of anything of interest in relation to that transcript. A set of inductive or a priori codes was created in a code bank (see Appendix Y). These a priori codes were drawn from the literature (e.g. 'community cohesion' and 'contact') and from both the social representations (e.g., 'facilitator as governor', 'soft aims' and 'hard outcomes') and themes (i.e. individualism and collectivism) in study one. During the subsequent line by line coding, other codes arose deductively (e.g. 'little old ladies', 'breaking down barriers' and 'young people in gangs'). The majority of codes in the final code book (see Appendix Y) were derived deductively. Throughout this stage of the analysis, in parallel to identifying new codes, similar codes were merged or renamed in order to reduce the number of codes as recommended by Bazeley and Jackson (2013). This involved going back to that coded data to ensure the code name was appropriate.

Moving from the coding stage to the creation and identification of themes involved going back and forth between the data, the code book in NVivo as well as diagrams and lists to identify themes which captured the data most accurately. Some potential themes had begun to emerge during the refinement of codes (e.g. participants as vulnerable emerged as superordinate to 'little old ladies and 'young people in gangs'). The search for themes is the most interpretive and creative stage of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) but the goal of all qualitative research is to explore, clarify and amplify the many strands of meaning regarding the phenomenon of interest (Willig & Stanton-Rogers, 2008). In this analysis an 'additional strand of meaning' was clarified at this stage. The theme *us/them* was not evident at the initial coding stage but was ultimately evident in the tension between the themes of participants as vulnerable versus active and facilitator as governor, mediator or activist. Themes are described as the roots of social representations (Joffe, 2015) and it was only once the social representations underpinning the data were evident that the roots of these also emerged. Whereas the theme *individualism/collectivism* was present from the early coding stage, the theme *us/them* emerged during the refinement of themes. Hence, an iterative process of analysis was vital here to ensure that both the social representations captured within the findings and also the themes underpinning them could in fact be identified within the data.

The final result was a series of themes (e.g. participants as active) capturing social representations (e.g. active, talented and resourceful older people) which fell into two broad opposing camps (e.g. vulnerable versus active) underpinned by themes (i.e. *us/them*). Some of these themes were similar or identical to those which emerged from

study one and some were novel to this data. Final theme names were refined throughout the production of the report of the findings present in this chapter, reflecting Braun and Clarke's (2006) comment that thematic analysis is ongoing until a report of findings is produced.

6.3.7 Local government dissemination

In addition to the participant feedback event described above, research findings were later presented to the Age Friendly City steering group committee at their quarterly meeting held in September 2014 at the City Council premises. Whereas the participant feedback event served as both a respondent validation exercise and to strengthen connections between community agencies, this event served to disseminate the findings from study two to local stakeholders who consisted of council representatives, lay older adults, and key figures from older people's health, social and housing organisations. This presentation constituted a vital process in connecting studies two and three, gaining feedback which would subsequently inform the development of IP locally.

6.3.8 Reflexive comments on research design

The interview recruitment process was initiated through contacting those who I had been introduced to through the research partners and later through snowballing and approaching recommended organisations across the city. Importantly, participants' responses may have been shaped not only by what the participant anticipated of me and the nature of the research but also their expectations of or prior relationship with the

local research partners. Finlay (2002) in her typology of five forms of reflexivity refers to this as reflexivity as social critique. Like others such as Gough (1999) I attempted to use humour in order to build rapport and also break the tension that was sometimes felt when participants questioned why my research was positioned within the discipline of psychology. Public perceptions and images of psychology such as psychometric testing, deception or psychotherapy may have created barriers between the interviewees and myself. I found that I needed to explain and justify my position which I did through statements such as “the branch of psychology I work with is very different from what you might think of as psychology” or “yes I work in psychology but I’m not one of those in the lab coats”. More often than not this seemed to reduce tensions and relieve apprehensions. Though approached light-heartedly, I felt that this preliminary conversation and early rapport building was essential in order to enlighten interviewees of my methodological orientation and set the stage for the interview questions that followed. Should interviewees have assumed my role was to assess their knowledge as right or wrong, interview questions such as “What do you know about IP?” may have been interpreted as a test of knowledge rather than a question about the interviewees understanding and interpretation. Rapport was generally well-established, I believe this to be also due to a perceived similarity in social class, ethnicity and importantly, due to participants recognising and commenting on my own local background (most asking questions related to where in the city I lived and came from, where I went to school, etc).

6.4 Research findings: how facilitators make sense of intergenerational practice

The findings resulted in a series of competing themes and social representations illustrating cognitive polyphasia in relation to three key aspects of IP – the nature of the practice, who the practice is for and the role of the facilitator. These social representations and underpinning themata are illustrated in Figure 6.1. at the start of this chapter.

6.4.1 Individualism/collectivism shaping the nature of the practice

Competing understandings of IP were underpinned by deeply rooted dichotomous ideas and assumptions (or themata) regarding the nature of the practice. This cognitive polyphasia stemmed from the thema individualism/collectivism. Facilitators' understanding appeared to be on the one hand anchored in old public health ideas of treatment and intervention for the vulnerable individuals and on the other hand in newer notions of collective health, active ageing and community mobilisation. Many facilitators understood IP as a means to celebrate active ageing and hence some were sceptical and appeared to struggle to make sense of IP as it was understood and anchored in ideas of dependency and vulnerability.

For many, the idea of IP epitomised new public health strategies of health promotion and asset-based community initiatives. IP was often endorsed by facilitators in their talk as a

means to provide opportunities for older people and celebrate their skills, knowledge and experience.

6.4.2 Us/them shaping the nature of the participants

Facilitators' social representations of participants as active or vulnerable were underpinned by a second thema (us/them) in which most facilitators positioned the familiar generation (us) with which they worked as active. In contrast, the unfamiliar others (them) were represented as vulnerable. Therefore both older and younger people were represented as active and vulnerable but representations of the more positive 'active' or more negative 'vulnerable' were dependent upon which population the facilitator was most exposed to in their role. Furthermore, front-line facilitators more strongly engaged with the social representation of participants as active, particularly the participants they worked with in their role. Conversely, rear-line facilitators more strongly engaged with the social representation of participants as vulnerable, in relation to all participants. This suggests that the thema us/them shaped social representations of active or vulnerable dependent on both which generation facilitators worked with and the degree of day to day engagement facilitators had with older or younger communities.

In order to detail the specific ways in which facilitators' understanding was discussed in relation to IP and the research questions, the following sections will examine IP and the different social actors involved (the participants and the facilitator). Assumptions about the roles of these different social actors were often premised upon assumptions of what

IP is understood to be and therefore facilitators' representations of the nature of IP itself are discussed first.

6.5 The nature of intergenerational practice – How does it work?

IP is a relatively new concept and tool for social change. In their talk of the practice, facilitators made sense of this phenomena in different ways. Many appeared to anchor their understanding of the practice in the specific and tangible notion of contact, either endorsing or resisting this understanding. Alternatively, others represented IP through drawing upon more collective notions of whole community rather than the more reduced concept of contact between two generations. The findings are presented here in such a way as to illustrate the whole range of representations of IP across the opposing contact to community themes seen in Figure 6.1.

6.5.1 Intergenerational practice reduced to intergenerational contact

Many different facilitators working across the different age groups and across the spectrum of professional roles represented IP as the more tangible and definitive idea of intergenerational contact. This reduction is sometimes due to a lack of knowledge about what IP could achieve. When asked about their knowledge of IP, many facilitators gave hesitant and often uncertain responses but understood the practice centrally as the idea of contact between generations. Both John's and Mark's responses to questions about what IP is, are characteristic:

“It could be anything really it’s just about getting together and just trying to break down the barriers.” (John, 128-129)

“Anything where people of different generations are working together”
(Mark, 189-190)

What is less evident from simply the words spoken by both John and Mark is the hesitancy with which they were said as well as what was not said. John and Mark in their brief responses may have given the impression of the beginnings of an understanding of IP about people and community however it in the “anything” said by both and the “just” said by John which gives more of a sense of speculation, uncertainty and that IP is something about generations working together however the details, the ethos, the nature of it beyond contact is uncertain.

Both John and Mark demonstrate a common tactic for grasping the unfamiliar idea of IP and that is to reduce it to a simpler more tangible idea, that of contact. This belief is a common belief that the details of IP are of less important than the act of bringing the different age groups together. The hesitance in both participants before referring to IP as “anything” contrasted with both the view of IP as shared interests (see 6.5.2) and that of IP as community action (see 6.5.3) in that these understandings were reduced to the notion of older and younger people doing something ‘anything’ together. A lack of elaboration regarding the goals of IP contradicts the collective action goals evident in most descriptions of the practice yet it does mirror the reductionist focus evident in some

theories (e.g. contact theory), methods (e.g. measures of how much contact occurred) and practices (e.g. where contact is the main goal).

In addition, John draws upon the “breaking down barriers” construction metaphor for IP evident in some of the documents. He does so in a limited way with no elaboration rather than this metaphor being a springboard for an understanding of IP as something more holistic and community orientated.

Sometimes the reduction of IP to contact was attributed to experience of the logistical difficulties inherent in facilitating IP. Facilitating the initial intergenerational contact is often fraught with practical challenges due to older and younger people (within this city at least) occupying distinct separate social spaces at least with regards to organised groups, services and activities. People of all ages share many social spaces day-to-day, for example shopping areas, public houses, restaurants and parks yet more organised activities and social institutions are more distinctly stratified (Hagestad, 2006). The stratified nature of these social spaces may have contributed to such a dominant focus on contact as an indicator of success in intergenerational projects. Cathy’s comments are a good example of how this challenge has come to dominate understandings of IP for some facilitators:

“I mean it’s a pity that the senior school which we’ve got good contacts with has recently moved so they’re that bit further away so the students from there would come down and also they invited – it was last Easter actually –

they invited thirty residents and they cooked a meal for them, a three course meal! We went up on the coach and the students were absolutely brilliant, they were out of this world because they waited on, they did the cooking, they waited on and they helped with the wheelchairs 'cause the people that we took were actually the most vulnerable so we took the wheelchairs. The only problem was that nobody told me that the drive down was like that! So I'm holding onto the wheelchairs as we go. Erm but you know, that was a great link but they've moved. I mean I've tried with other schools but sometimes the curriculum's that tight that they haven't got a lot of space."

(Cathy, 255-264)

Cathy's talk of facilitating IP is littered with references to the practical and logistical challenges of facilitating appropriate space. Such challenges demonstrate how physical and social environments alike have tended to be built around the needs of a single age group rather than being inclusive. Not only may such stratification feed assumptions that older and younger people indeed should occupy distinct and separate social spaces but it also may help to explain why facilitators would place a heavy emphasis on establishing contact when making sense of IP.

Some facilitators were seen to place emphasis on the quality of contact and the value of contact as a means of building relationships and changing perceptions. Contact is therefore not necessarily a quantifiable indicator of success in IP but as the initial catalyst

for subsequent processes of social change. An example of a facilitator placing value on the quality of contact can be seen here:

"I think the biggest part of the success of intergenerational work is interaction and that's what you need. It's not saying read about what I did in the war, it's about me telling you what I did in the war because when I actually tell you I will tell you much more than I write and I think that interaction would be the biggest thing. Erm because what is the point of me telling you how to make a peg doll, it would be much better if I showed it to you and you saw the end result and then you were able to have a go at it yourself." (Sharon, 406-411)

Sharon, who worked on local government initiatives to support families in learning, believed that intergenerational contact can be used as a tool to facilitate learning. Tactility and kinaesthetic intergenerational learning were understood as the goals of IP. Like Cathy, Sharon drew upon her experience of IP and similarly this was centred on the role of contact in IP however Sharon emphasised a specific type and quality of contact. Despite this emphasis such a view of IP is still greatly removed from those which centre on community mobilisation and inclusivity. Sharon's view is more one of IP as a tool for re-establishing contact in a way which supports traditional notions of learning (e.g. young being taught by older more experienced people) rather than something more collaborative, where older and younger people play an equal role.

Those sceptical of IP were mostly those who were sceptical of both the use of the term 'intergenerational' for such projects and also the binary distinction between young and old. The notion of intergenerational contact and the contact model in social psychology is itself premised upon the idea of distinct social categories such as young and old (Allport, 1954). Some facilitators in their talk resisted the idea of older people as a single homogenous social group through questioning the point in a person's life at which they become defined as an older person:

"Where we did our stuff at Midland Heart, the youngest resident there is fifty five and then you're up to eighty. So that's a massive... a fifty five year old and an eighty year old because they live in sheltered accommodation, they don't all have these... my Dad is eighty three and still drives and my mum's eighty two and they go on holiday. So sometimes it's patronising to do intergenerational stuff!" (John, 105-109)

John's understanding of IP as being no more than intergenerational contact between two supposedly homogenous groups gave rise to a scepticism of the concept. For John, IP is clearly rooted in an inappropriately narrow inter-group contact approach. IP in such instances risks appearing either tokenistic or an intervention for problem individuals resisted by facilitators such as John who see IP as patronising.

The logistical and practical barriers to implementing IP and the use of such metaphors as 'bridging the gap' and 'breaking down barriers' demonstrate how facilitators often see

their role as a logistical, governing one, responsible for the physical and tangible act of bringing older and younger people together or facilitating contact. Many of the facilitators made references to either 'breaking down barriers' or 'bridging the gap' in their talk of IP. Metaphors are common in the formation of new social representations (Joffe, 2012). Through construction metaphors, facilitators objectified both age segregation and IP as a tool for various or unknown outcomes through intergenerational contact.

6.5.2 Intergenerational practice as shared Interests

The focal point of IP for many was the identification of shared interests between pairs or small groups of older and younger individuals. This recognition of different interests and values resists the assumption of homogeneity of older people and younger people by recognising that cross-generational interests can and should be identified. Here, intergenerational contact underpinned inclusive practices instead of being an end goal. The focus shifted to conversation, mutual interest, benefit and enjoyment.

Many facilitators expressed uncertainty over the nature of IP. John understood the IP agenda to be primarily about providing care for vulnerable older people and he resisted this, believing instead that IP should be about contact premised upon shared interests and activities:

"My son runs, he does orienteering, so we went to a big competition last bank holiday. Three and a half thousand people taking part from all over

Europe and the youngest age group is ten and the oldest age group is eighty five. So you've got... you're all on the same competition course, doing slightly different routes, so you've got a ten year old running and you've got an eighty five year old doing their course. So that's 'intergenerational' because everybody's involved in the same activity, at the same time, in the same place. But we're not... we don't call it intergenerational because he's not poorly, he's not sick and he's not whatever! [laughs]. You know they are fit, compos mentis, engaging people. So it's not. But to me that's intergenerational because you've got a ten year old and an eighty year old from the same club doing the same activity. So that's why I get this fixation that intergenerational is about poor and sickly people." (John, 234-243)

For John, the term 'intergenerational practice' had very specific connotations and assumes a prescribed relationship between young and old (i.e., that of care giver and receiver of care). These kinds of assumptions were evident across facilitators' talk. IP was frequently understood as an intervention for poor and sick older people (a representation explored in more detail in the following section regarding participants). John rejected the idea of such a prescriptive IP, instead choosing to advocate IP premised upon shared interests and activities through stating 'everybody's involved in the same activity, at the same time, in the same place'. John's understanding of IP echoes that described in the previous study where IP could be seen as perpetuating notions of inequality and segregation.

Michelle admitted to not having intentionally worked with intergenerational groups before but recognised the value of this for identifying common concerns for the communities that she worked with:

“I wouldn’t mind doing something that was sort of specifically, tangibly about bringing different generations together because I’ve seen where it hasn’t happened as a part of the design but we have had courses that involved younger and older adults together and mixed sex groups. We can see the benefit in them starting to exchange their stories and kind of realising that they’ve got some of the same issues and it’s such a huge division for people.” (Michelle, 218-223)

Again, IP is evidently understood as centred upon contact between different generations but crucially it also had a specific purpose beyond that and for Michelle this purpose was to exchange stories and identify common issues. By shifting the focus to communication and common issues, the idea that older and younger people occupy homogenous groups becomes distorted. IP is represented here as a tool for identifying common interests and concerns between groups that are different in age but not necessarily different in their interests or values. Through first-hand experience of a more collectivist practice where individuals benefit from shared stories, Michelle made sense of IP as a tool for exploring shared interests. This is a stance distinct from the view that IP is about establishing contact as it places emphasis upon equality and the active engagement of both old and young, likewise however it is also distinct from a view of IP as community-led action.

Facilitators' representations of IP as a means of establishing shared interests and common concerns between generations' parallels formalised definitions of the practice. Biggs and Lowenstein (2011) suggest that despite there being various definitions of intergenerational community programmes, all have the common feature that they are based on different generations sharing and engaging in activities of mutual benefit. Evaluation studies (e.g., Kuehne, 2003) have found that projects are more likely to be successful when they are based on the needs and interests of all participants. Centring projects on the needs and interests of the participants is also more likely to result in greater participant engagement and enjoyment, possibly diluting power differences between facilitators and the community.

The key limitation to a view of IP as shared interests is the risk of neglecting wider psycho-social influences beyond the intergenerational encounter facilitated. Without addressing wider influences on younger and older people's lives, efforts to implement sustained outcomes may come up against barriers. Ultimately, IP as shared interests is also limited in terms of the types of social change that can be achieved. Facilitators here refer to older and younger people having fun together and being active, or sharing stories. These understandings imply that solidarity and equality can be achieved through IP however such representations also frame IP as apolitical and context-free encounters. Common ground and equality are sought within this version of IP yet there may be a naivety or ignorance to the various factors which perpetuate age inequalities.

Parallel approaches to understanding and promoting inter-group relationships can be seen throughout the social psychological literature. Sherif's (1966) classic study is a prime example of the ability to build social cohesion through establishing a common interest or need. Facilitators' representations of the nature of IP also paralleled Doise's (1986) levels of analysis in social psychology. Some facilitators represented IP as the equivalent to Doise's inter-group level of analysis where outcomes are achieved through a focus on shared interests whilst others either resist this interpretation or made sense of IP as more of a holistic community effort.

6.5.3 Intergenerational practice as community action

In an almost complete contrast to the intergroup contact representation of IP, many facilitators made sense of the practice as a tool for strengthening communities. The nature and type of activity in this conceptualisation of IP was wholly dependent upon the needs of a given community and often intergenerational contact is merely one of many steps in community mobilisation towards a broader collective goal lasting social change. Social change in this sense is usually characterised by more than psycho-social benefits for those directly involved and instead characterised by social, psychological and even economic benefits for the broader community.

Some facilitators oriented themselves towards a representation of IP as a tool for sustaining community knowledge and skills. Ann for example, an allotment manager, saw IP as one potential tool for helping sustain community knowledge over time and across

generations. She described an instance where one particular older resident was able to save the council time and money through passing on information about the area which was not in the council's records:

“There is perhaps a memory pool amongst these people that we will lose and because I mean I fought tooth and nail to find these files they were all over the city and because of the modern technology stuff we’ve tended to lose this kind of paper file and the problem we have is not only a corporate memoir but a society memory loss, losing a lot of this information... ..And it was one of the guys who said ‘you need to go and look at your maps duck’, cause what they don’t remember is that the water board put a main sewer through this pipe in the 1970’s’. ‘Course sure enough they went away and looked and came back, ‘actually that land’s no use to us’. I mean we could have spent millions of pounds getting this land prepared for burial only to find there’s a sewer running through the middle of it... ..So that kind of stuff, there’s not just a corporate memory loss but there’s a collective, a shared memory, an archive in the people that use the sites.” (Ann, 288-304)

For Ann, IP was evidently not simply contact between generations or a series of inter-group encounters to establish shared interests but rather a tool for the maintenance and development of communities and their knowledge and skills. In the instance Ann describes, she highlighted the value of an intergenerational approach to the council, IP

appears here instead as community orientated and focused upon specific community needs and concerns (e.g., the preservation of local knowledge).

Ann's insight was refreshing and encouraging, not only because it echoed the grand ambitions of IP as community empowerment evident in the documents in study one but because it presented a concrete local example of how IP could help to empower the community.

Nathan, himself a younger community worker, working predominately with younger groups, appeared to hold a realistic understanding of the potential of IP without the cynicism present in others' talk. He recognised that practically it is not possible to engage every community member in every project but none the less, IP should strive for broader and lasting change. Nathan demonstrated how he valued practice which works from the community outwards, effecting a trickle of change:

"If for example on a youth project we're going to... if we say we're gonna do something that's gonna serve the older community, or erm residents, and then we invite them, I'm sure that they'd get a response. Some of them wouldn't but that's how community stuff is, you know you're not going to get, so you work with what you've got and if then they wander to the bus station or whatever and they might say "we went down there and we did this, and you know that whasit one who did this and was causing trouble down here the other week – he was alright he was!". And that person might

not have ever come but that message gets relayed back and obviously vice versa with the younger person. They might say “oh actually he’s alright he is, he isn’t too bad.”” (Nathan, 143-151)

Nathan clearly saw IP as a ‘whole community’ tool whilst recognising that practically it may only involve a small sample of individuals and also may practically be directed more at inter-group change than community change. This outward focus on what IP can achieve and what it should strive to achieve characterises the social representation of IP as community action. While Nathan did place emphasis on the more prevalent outcome of attitude change, this is not done so from an individualist perspective but rather in a way which recognises the active role of the community and the importance of community knowledge. The change that Nathan talks of comes not directly from the contact encounter itself but from the wider community.

Others altogether abandoned the notion of structured prescriptive intergenerational projects and instead understood IP as something much more organic and informal, occurring within micro-communities that are tentatively facilitated. Martin, another allotment manager stated:

“I think the whole allotment site is a community, there’s a whole lot of older people on the site and the students get the opportunity to talk to them and sometimes they learn from them, sometimes they’ll have a cup of tea with them and talk about things. So there is a tentative interaction between some

of the younger students and the older people in the community.” (Martin, 144-148)

The image of the facilitated micro-community is quite different from that of the structured intergenerational project. Martin illustrated how many facilitators may be successfully co-ordinating IP without it being explicitly labelled as ‘IP’. The allotment described by Martin is evidently a shared space for intergenerational learning and communication, yet it is also a place with a broader purpose (growing vegetables). For Martin, the allotment represents neither simply a practical space, nor a space for prescribed IP but rather a space where prefigurative social change can be fostered. A characteristic that Guerlain and Campbell (2016) found to be inherent in a series of East London community gardens where the shared practice of gardening lead to unintended benefits. IP in the community space facilitated by Martin may be more engaging and sustainable as they are embedded in the needs and interests of a community without the intervention rhetoric of a prescriptive projects..

6.5.4 Goal(s) of intergenerational practice: assumptions about social change

Though it could be said that all IP is centred upon contact, it is the assumptions about what that contact can achieve that differs in these facilitators accounts. These assumptions are more often implicit and may appear as the themata giving rise to particular social representations. Here the thema individualism/collectivism has shaped facilitators knowledge and understanding of the nature of IP and its purpose. Contact is generally agreed to be a tool for achieving various outcomes but differences lie in where

individual and community problems are believed to take root and therefore where action is believed to be best directed. The traditional social psychological approach to inter-group contact aimed to isolate the individual as the source of social problems therefore action is directed at changing individuals. Two key limitations of this inter-group approach are the isolation of the individual and the assumption of homogeneity within groups. Different facilitators both drew upon and resisted this representation. Some were sceptical of IP because they rejected the idea of age groups as homogenous instead advocated practice based on shared interests.

Looking at IP instead as identifying shared interests, removed this latter limitation by recognising heterogeneous values and interests among young and old. Yet still this understanding of IP assumes that it occurs in a socio-political vacuum. Social systems and structural inequalities within this approach are neglected and as such the types of social change that can be achieved are limited. Where IP is understood as community action, there is an explicit awareness of the practice as a tool for empowering community members to mobilise towards collective goals. Social change within this approach is multi-faceted and wider reaching, a consequence not only of psycho-social change but a change to social norms, beliefs and the socio-economic systems which perpetuate inequalities. Some recognised the limits and challenges of such an approach and the types of outcomes that can be achieved. Facilitators that drew upon this image of IP valued context, local knowledge and IP as a tool for community action with a broader purpose beyond establishing contact (e.g. challenging negative reputations, providing space to grow food, providing access to shared knowledge).

This spectrum of representations of IP from contact through shared interests to community action does in many ways map analyses of approaches to social change in other health and social contexts (Campbell and Cornish, 2010; Maoz, 2012) (see table 6.3) outlined in section 3.3. Despite the different health and social contexts of each of these two examples, they present parallels with the facilitators' representations of IP discussed here. The coexistence model proposed by Maoz (2012) is echoed in facilitators' representation of IP as contact. The joint projects model and the confrontational model Maoz describes are very much akin to the representation of IP as shared interests. The limitations of these models may also be seen to result from the shared interests' representation of IP. Stereotypes and distrust may be reinforced rather than challenged. Facilitators who drew upon IP as community, highlighted the importance of context, local knowledge and small yet significant community actions towards change. In line with this argument, IP facilitated with community empowerment in mind is likely to be more successful at achieving wide spread and lasting social change which challenges the social structures which maintain inequalities than IP that is understood as intergroup contact, occurring within a socio-political vacuum.

Table 6.3. *Theoretical connections between the spectrum of representations of IP in facilitators' talk and existing social psychological theories and models in regards to health*

and social issues: how an individualist/collectivist thema shapes IP and other models of social change.

<i>Campbell & Cornish (2010)</i> models of community based health promotion	<div> <div>Awareness</div> <div>Peer-based</div> <div>Community mobilisation</div> </div>				
<i>Maoz 2012</i> Social-psychological models for inter-group initiatives	The coexistence model	The joint projects model	The confrontational model	The narrative-story-telling model	Participatory Action Research
Facilitators' representations	Contact	Shared Interests		Community action	

6.6 The participants in intergenerational practice – Who is it for?

Common beliefs about age and ageing were prevalent in the facilitators' talk of their role and of IP. Particularly common were references to the older and younger people that would participate in IP. The varying descriptions and references revealed social representations of older and younger people as both vulnerable and active, reflecting who facilitators understand IP to benefit. Furthermore, facilitators referred to how they believe various others feel about older and younger people, including older and younger people themselves as well as common sense images and stereotypes. The resulting cognitive polyphasia where older and younger people are represented as vulnerable and passive on one hand and as active or engaged on the other, is underpinned by the thema us/them. Whether older or younger people were represented as active or vulnerable

depended on which population the facilitator worked with and in what type of role (front-line or rear-line). In line with previous research (Joffe, 2011), social representations of 'them' (or other) were more negative. This is thought to serve a protective function. Facilitators here mostly represented the age group with which they work as active and the 'other' age group as vulnerable.

6.6.1 'Unhealthy', 'a burden' and 'fearful': Intergenerational practice is for vulnerable older people

Social representations of older people (both positive and negative) were more prevalent than representations of younger people, echoing the theme of inequality which emerged in the previous study (see 5.4.2.2.) where IP was represented as a tool for helping older people. Throughout facilitators' talk, references were made to older people as vulnerable, as a burden, as dis-respected and as little old ladies or grannies. This constellation of images contributed to a social representation of older people as vulnerable.

In the following extract, John, a youth worker, reinforced his awareness of later life as diverse as well as his scepticism of IP. He saw IP as something only for the physically and economically vulnerable:

"I'm not a conspiracy theorist but I am in certain ways 'cause just thinking what older people do and the older generation and the holiday's they go on, but when we talk about intergenerational, we always talk about the poor"

and the unhealthy. Intergenerational, pure intergenerational is the whole spectrum of the older generation rather than just the poor and unhealthy. I'm just thinking about it now, that it could be, to be on an intergenerational project you've got to be poor and unhealthy. You know, you look at the House of Lords, House of Commons, how many of them are in their seventies and eighties? We're not doing intergenerational projects with them are we?"

(John, 209-216)

John's scepticism of IP could be seen as a product of who he believes to benefit from it. For him, the practice is for poor and unhealthy older people and although in the quote above he suggested that 'pure intergenerational is the whole spectrum of the older generation' the only alternative he pointed to is the more radical example of those in parliament. We are unable to judge from John's extract whether or not he was aware of the many intergenerational projects that involve older people elsewhere on the health and wealth spectrum, namely the healthy, active older people in the local community. John does not make any reference to these so we can infer that he is either not aware of them or believes that IP is only for the vulnerable old. John's image of who IP is for is an accurate reflection of those representations seen in the formal IP literature (see Chapter 5) and also old public health ideas of intervention for the treatment of individual health problems (Lupton & Peterson, 1996). Despite recognising that later life is a heterogeneous experience, circulating a skewed image of IP as only serving poor and unhealthy older people may well hinder opportunities for the facilitation of intergenerational projects with healthy and active older people.

Vulnerability as a representation of older people is imagined not only as an intrinsic individual quality but as an inter-group one, revealed through older people's fears of others:

"One of the sessions that I did was ...we had a lot of anti-social behaviours in one of the areas that I did and it was around the older residents being terrified of the younger residents! So they were scared that they were hanging around on the corner, they didn't dare walk past them." (Laura, 141-144)

For Laura, a community engagement officer working with older communities, it was the presence of younger people that made older people appear vulnerable. Younger people were framed as being intimidating and older people as frightened and vulnerable as a consequence, unable to venture into certain parts of their neighbourhood.

In her talk of who benefits from IP, Laura highlighted not only her own perceptions of older people but also what she felt are others' perceptions of older people. The following extract sheds further light on Laura's understanding of the older community and perceived common sense understandings held by others:

"I mean I'm very passionate about old people to be honest but for me I think it's just so important. I don't think people respect older people enough and the knowledge that they've got, the experiences that they've been through and they've got so much to share, you know. And people sometimes can't

give them the time of day, but don't get me wrong, I have my moments where they're in my way in the supermarket going at... you know, blocking the aisle and they do all their shopping on a Saturday night. And you think why can't they come in the week? you know, that sort of thing. We all do it! We all have moments when they're driving ten miles an hour in front of ya on the road but, you know, you've got to make allowances haven't you? and you've gotta show some respect, you know? But I do think that unfortunately in this day and age we haven't got enough respect for people." (Laura, 165-174)

Laura stated her passion for older people and emphasised a need to show respect and make allowances for them. None-the-less she positions older people as a burden to herself and to others in everyday settings, highlighting various everyday examples where older people are a burden both to herself and others. Older people are consequently represented as vulnerable, in that these everyday interactions with others hinder a respect for them and their value to the community. Representations of older people as problematic may conflict with attempts to facilitate IP which is empowering, inclusive and recognising of older people as active agents in their community.

As with Laura's example above, negative representations of older people often emerged from the facilitators' perceptions of what others think, particularly of what younger people think. It appeared that many facilitators managed their talk of negative representations of older people by stating that younger people see older people as

vulnerable rather than suggesting that they did so themselves. Ultimately, facilitators demonstrated a shared understanding of older people as vulnerable in various ways. Rob, a youth housing and project worker, similarly drew upon this negative image through talk of how younger people associate older people with care homes and disadvantage:

“It could be that they’re fond of their grandparents or something like that but nine times out of ten, most of the community projects where they come up with ideas it’s ‘I wanna work with the elderly’, ‘I wanna work with care homes’, ‘I wanna work with disadvantaged people’, erm, which is great really for community projects in the area because we wanna build their self-esteem, helps them to give something back.” (Rob, 110-114)

Rob in response to a question about any intergenerational work his community are involved in described how younger people frequently opt to get involved in community work with older people. Rob suggested that for the young people he worked with, working with older people was an opportunity to contribute to the community by helping those in need. Younger people here are shown to see older people as synonymous with disadvantage and Rob does not challenge this representation in his talk, therefore the prospective intergenerational relationship is anticipated to be one of dependency, framed around the image of the vulnerable older person. The consequence of this, as Rob stated, is that younger people are able to build their own self-esteem through ‘giving something back’. It is through positioning the other as vulnerable that the younger person is able to feel that they are active and contributing something good.

Other facilitators also referred to how various ‘others’ see older people, such as the media and stereotypes or common beliefs. Barbara, a semi-retired older person’s community worker talked of a very positive and active older person as an example of the active older people she works with. She draws on this image however in order to distance herself from the negative ‘stereotypes’ of older people:

“Our chair is seventy. Again, beats any stereotype that you’ve ever come across and it’s a shame you’re not kind of seeing that because they’re all so busy involved in other stuff, age friendly cities and creative ageing, the thing that Mary is on. They are all involved in other things so they defy the stereotypes of older people as well.” (Barbara, 119-122)

Though Barbara explicitly resisted representing older people as non-active and disengaged, she drew upon that common-sense or stereotypical image to make her point that older people do not necessarily conform to that image of vulnerability. Barbara’s talk in particular illustrated to me the deep roots of negative representations of older people. Barbara, an older person herself, involved extensively in community projects to help empower older communities, came back again and again to the idea of defying stereotypes and examples of older people who defied stereotypes. Prior to her interview proper, Barbara was keen to make me aware of her own age and how involved in the community she was, this possibly also a demonstration to me of active ageing and a part of her eagerness to show me people who defied stereotypes.

In a similar way, Sharon, a community worker supporting families in learning, made a point about how her experience of working with older people contradicts stereotypes or 'typical' images:

"And I mean we had some fantastic stories, I mean one lady who stands out in my mind she didn't take part in the intergenerational project but she came into the library pulling a shopping trolley with a little mac on, a little sort of tea cosy hat with a rain hat over the top - so very much your typical older lady and it turned out that she was one of the operators of the Enigma machine..."

...and she was going "Oh, are you startled to find that dear", "oh no... oh yeah I am!" [laughs] and she'd met all sorts of people so she was you know an absolutely incredible lady ...and yeah it was like judging the book by its cover because she presented this image." (Sharon, 312-322)

Sharon laughed as she retold the surprise she experienced when discovering this 'typical older lady' was in fact an 'absolutely incredible' person. In doing so she described how this woman presented a stereotypical image to others. The description of this woman's physical appearance denotes a degree of frailty and vulnerability to the elements (i.e., shopping trolley and rain hat). It was only through Sharon talking to this particular woman that this stereotypical image was shattered. Therefore for Sharon, IP was less about helping vulnerable older people but helping younger people see how 'incredible' older people can be in the same way that her own stereotypical views had been challenged.

Since social representations serve to ease communication through socially agreed ideas about given social objects (Moscovici, 1988) it is therefore necessary to explore what purpose the representation of older people as vulnerable may serve for facilitators. Though negative and prevalent, this representation of vulnerability may serve to justify community services, interventions and initiatives, particularly IPs and particularly those driven from above in a top-down fashion with the view of helping problem individuals. Services are often allocated funds and support on the basis of perceived need. Health promotion and early intervention remain relatively new forms of practice which may not appear to hold the same weight of justification as traditional treatment-based interventions. Viewing older people as vulnerable may help legitimise IP and justify engagement with older populations. As a consequence, a vulnerable older person viewed as subject to ill-health may be seen as more in need of service engagement than an active, healthy older person. When in the context of intergenerational work, older people are represented as vulnerable, any opportunities for IPs that involve active healthy older people could be missed. This limits the scope of intergenerational work and constructs the intergenerational relationship as one of dependence and care rather than mutual benefit and collaborative action.

6.6.2 'Low in confidence', 'lazy', 'vulnerable to gang culture' or simply

invisible: Intergenerational practice is for vulnerable younger people

Younger people were depicted in facilitators' talk in a variety of negative ways including passive, invisible, low in confidence, lazy and threatening. All of these images appeared to

hinge upon a representation of younger people as vulnerable. This vulnerability is more diverse than the vulnerability facilitators associated with older people but it ultimately parallels this representation as it positions younger people as weak and in need of intervention rather than as engaged contributors to the community.

A word frequency search for the terms 'young', 'younger', 'old' and 'older' in the interview transcripts, revealed that facilitators referred to older people twice as often as they referred to younger people. The interview schedule made no reference to older or younger people and only to 'communities' and 'the people you work with'. Seven facilitators in the sample worked mostly with younger people and eight worked mostly with older people, therefore this finding does not reflect the populations that the sample work with. It does suggest that in line with the findings from the study one, IP is associated with older people. Younger people were often absent in answers to questions about IP. Ann, an older person's community worker for example, confessed a lack of formal knowledge of IP in the following response:

"I don't [sigh] well if you asked me for a definition I'd say it's something to do with older people." (Ann, 252)

John, a youth worker did however recognise an absence of younger people in any IP agenda and felt strongly about this:

"It's my belief that's there's no such thing [as intergenerational] because a lot of 'intergenerational' that's put forward is basically about extra care that

should be delivered anyway. It's not about generations... ...So it's a convenient tag to just not do anything about it because these people aren't gonna vote for you. It's the same with under-eighteen year olds. We can cut all their services because they're not gonna vote for us." (John, 116-124)

John's scepticism of IP appeared to stem from his belief in an absence of younger people in the broader IP agenda. John was one of only a small number of facilitators in the sample who had accessed more formalised information about IP. For John, the practice was viewed as a 'convenient tag' for work involving younger people caring for older people. In suggesting 'it's not about generations', Lee protested against the absence of a clear benefit for younger people participating in IP beyond the benefits of being a carer for older people. This belief and, specifically, the assumptions that IP is both not about younger people and is about providing care for older people has negative implications. In practice, such beliefs may hinder opportunities for the development of IP that works with and promotes the engagement of active older people. Such understanding may also hinder opportunities for younger people to participate in IP. Whereas older community worker Ann appeared content in her vague awareness that IP has 'something to do with older people', John, a youth worker, had a much more emotive response, expressing his frustration at the absence of younger people from the IP agenda.

Among the few references to younger people, were references to vulnerability, specifically references to young people's lack of confidence and self-esteem. Youth workers, particularly saw community work in general as an opportunity to enhance and

strengthen young people's confidence through working with others and this in turn was seen to enhance their future prospects:

"A lot of it is about I would say self-esteem really, people that come onto the course you know are generally unemployed or may have had some issues in the past and they just sort of need a bit of direction and self-belief." (John, 28-30)

John portrayed younger people as needing direction and self-belief and saw community projects as a solution. For John, younger people were positioned as dependent upon community courses rather than as independent and active contributors. His work can be seen as a means of helping younger people first and foremost, rather than empowering them to help others. Brian, also a youth worker, drew upon a similar image:

"It gives them an opportunity to meet some people that are going to go to that college as well. So they're sort of making that friendship before they get there. Because what they're saying is that the largest sort of dropout rate is within the first three months of attending college and that's probably because of new surroundings, meeting new people, and they don't feel comfortable or confident so by doing something like this it can help them to break down the barriers between themselves." (Brian, 56-61)

Both youth workers made references to employment or education. Though confidence building was seen as something of value in its own right, emphasis was placed on the

implications for education and employment. The implication here being that increased confidence and self-belief will lead to better prospects. Employment and education are clearly targets that facilitators feel IP can help to achieve. Such representations of younger people are not intrinsically negative as the desire to help increase confidence implies a desire to empower and encourage active involvement in the community however both facilitators here see their role from a problem solving perspective, as being to solve the problem of young people's self-esteem.

Others who worked with younger people were less positive regarding their vulnerability, seeing this as a weakness and a laziness:

"And again the younger students learn from the more mature students what [work] really means, because a lot of the younger students haven't really been in full-time employment. I mean quite a lot of them work part-time and they get very, very tired when they're working four hours a week you know, and I often say to them try doing sixty hours a week and then tell me you're tired you know!" (Martin, 157-161)

Martin's unsympathetic talk of younger students suggested that he feels they are less committed. Where as in the previous section, older people were framed as vulnerable in relation to younger people, here, older people as represented as active and younger people as vulnerable, more specifically, lazy and less able. This lack of sympathy towards younger people in the context of IP could negatively impact any efforts to achieve

equality and inclusion. In addition, Martin's talk may also have been an attempt to highlight the active contributions of older people by portraying 'them' as inferior. This type of talk may be an expression of the us/them thema serving a protective function, protecting the integrity of older people (with whom Martin likely identifies) by demonising the other.

In parallel to the talk of how others see older people, facilitators also referred to how they believe older people see younger people. One distinct image is that of the gang. Though the image of gangs and ill-behaved young people was one that commonly arose, the facilitators themselves only ever made these references in relation to how others view younger people and not themselves. Cathy made particular effort to distance herself from the 'stereotype' of teenagers as a potential threat:

"And I think it's important as well that it's not just little children, erm like the teenagers to try and get over that fact that, I think that you know, it's the stereotypes int it? Erm to get over that thing that just because people are teenagers they're no threat and so we actively invite teenagers to come in. When the local school's come, they have asked could they have erm like charity events and we do charity, we have those there you know invite them in. So it breaks down, hopefully breaks down the barriers that the older folks don't think that the children are a worry, are a risk." (Cathy, 239-245)

Cathy reassured that the sheltered housing at which she works will welcome teenagers and that they are no threat. She did not, however, suggest a more positive alternate image of young people to counter this. She implied that IP through contact at the sheltered housing will help older people to change their negative perceptions of younger people, drawing (as others have) upon the same construction metaphor of IP as 'breaking down barriers'. This is a very different image from others who conversely saw IP as synonymous with younger people caring for older people, yet both images frame older people as being in need of such an intervention. Nathan drew upon the same negative image of young people as a threat or 'up to no good' and believed, like Jan that this is a common misconception:

"I think erm... a lot of it is around perceptions, some older people view younger people as up to no good. That's sort of the classic example really of what they are deemed to view, but they're not actually up to no good and if there's a willingness to meet half way from both parties or not just both but all ages down and there can obviously be, there's so much potential in what they can do together really." (Nathan, 95-98)

Similarly, Nathan did not offer an alternative image but resists the image of young people as a threat. By not offering an alternative more positive image and by describing young people by what they are not rather than by what they are, the representation of young people as a threat is likely to continue to circulate implicitly.

The image of the threatening or 'up to no good' young person has been a prevalent one for at least two centuries. Pearson's (1984) classic sociological studies on images of youth and hooliganism demonstrate the prevalence of this image throughout the twentieth century. More recently the mass riots that occurred across UK cities in the summer of 2011 demonstrate how such images continue to circulate in British culture (Moran & Waddington, 2015). The facilitators here, distanced themselves from what they see as a common image of young people. There appears to not be an equally accessible positive image of young people as the above examples demonstrate, the facilitators merely defined young people by what they are not. The drive for facilitators to build young people's confidence and self-esteem may well be driven by a fear of young people being otherwise drawn into 'trouble'. Community work could therefore act in this sense as a means to mould responsible young people, feeding off of a fear perpetuated by images of gangs and young people as up to no good. This has long been a common rationale for community interventions with younger people (Haste, 2005).

Notions of governmentality also come to the fore when projects are driven by fears of young people as a threat. Furthermore, by placing emphasis on building an individual's confidence, skills and self-esteem in preparation for employment, responsibility for youth employment is shifted downwards from the state through the facilitator to the individual young person. IPs may at times be seen by facilitators as potential inter-group solutions to individuals' problems in education and employment. In doing so, facilitators assumed that employment and education are individual responsibilities with individual or inter-

personal solutions rather than community or societal responsibilities with collective solutions.

6.6.3 'Active', 'talented' and 'resourceful': Intergenerational practice is for active older people

In contrast to the images of vulnerability and dependence, many facilitators contributed a wide range of positive images of older people. Older people were portrayed as active, engaged, diverse, skilled and resourceful. A multifaceted image of an active-ageing population emerged from facilitators talk. Barbara highlighted older people as physically active and taking advantage of gymnasium discounts. She was also keen to demonstrate that she believed younger people do not necessarily hold this image of older people as physically fit:

"I think for little children, anybody over thirty is gonna seem old. So that's a perception and we can help with that perception you know as you see them wide eyed going "oh and she can skip for ten minutes!?" and things like that. Because lots of older people go to gyms nowadays and I don't, I hate exercise but lots of older people have that you can go for a fiver a week, twenty pound a month within the times when people are at work." (Barbara, 295-299)

Though the image of the active older person is not made with direct reference to involvement in IP, Barbara suggested that younger people hold distorted perceptions of

older people, the implication being that IP could seek to challenge this by demonstrating older people's physical fitness. Whereas the IP document tend to focus on the active older mind, Barbara emphasised physical fitness – a facet of active ageing less often explored through IP possibly due to an emphasis on learning, education and community concerns.

Similarly, in contrast to the image of dependant and vulnerable older people in need of care from younger people, Sarah, a community worker whose role involved facilitating access to health information in older communities, portrayed older people as active contributors of knowledge:

“There's such a lot of qualities and skills that get lost along the way and you know people are so knowledgeable but they get such a lot out of sharing that knowledge and knowing that somebody is interested you know, in that particular area and that they've helped somebody I think erm and I think it is again about that neighbourliness kind of thing isn't it and you know, I think the older generation you know, like to help, I think that's built within them, do you know what I mean, they are very resourceful and do you know what I mean and just full of information you know.” (Sarah, 117-123)

The emphasis in Sarah's talk is in many ways on how IP can help older people. She describes how they benefit from sharing knowledge and from knowing that someone is interested. This is a different image of IP however to the others where IP *for* older people

equates to IP to help passive and vulnerable older people. In Sarah's depiction of who might benefit, older people play an active role, they are knowledgeable, resourceful and seeking of opportunities to help others. Such images of older people as an active and contributing party in IP lie closer to that image of older people that the IP advocates are striving to promote. Where facilitators hold an understanding of older people as contributing and active in the way that Sarah demonstrated, in practice, any intergenerational initiatives that are designed or implemented, should in turn seek to promote IP opportunities where older people play an active and contributing role.

In a similar vein, Michelle illustrated how she believed older people are an asset to the community and also explicitly resisted the idea that older people have no value:

"So I think that would be a huge outcome just to have those skills and the stories realised and the value, the same as there's that idea that the older generation have no value as well." (Michelle, 248-250)

Michelle saw IP as involving older generations passing on skills to younger generations as a means of demonstrating to younger people, the value of older people and challenging what she deemed a common belief held by others that older people have no value at all. For facilitators like Michelle who had much experience in working with communities of all ages across the city, IP was seen as a means of challenging the invisibility and passivity witnessed as being associated with old age. This is one example where an awareness of

negative ill-founded stereotypes of old age are drawn upon and actively resisted by a facilitator in order to champion older people.

Cathy was similarly keen to highlight both the skills that older people hold and her awareness that these often go unnoticed:

“It was certainly a shock for me when I came here how talented residents were and not just the knitting, the rug making, the sowing, what skills they’d actually got. The painting, we’ve got some fantastic artists that just do it in their room or have done it in the past and that. Bearing in mind that, we don’t make a fuss. I wanted to end, some of them are people who have perhaps got dementia and I thought it was important for people to actually, like the photos out there really, important for people to see them as people and see beyond what they are now to the skills they got and also make them feel proud of what what they’ve done and erm so we arranged them for all to have an area each and we’ve got a lady who write poetry, we’ve got a lady who dresses dolls and like sows them. We’ve got erm May who knits and knits things, loads of talents. A guy who’s fantastic at doing cartoons, like drawings and that.” (Cathy, 182-191)

Cathy saw IP as means of celebrating and sharing the varied skills held by older people. The immense capacity for older people to contribute to the wider community was advocated strongly by Cathy as well as Sarah and Michelle. All three facilitators offered

diverse representations of older people as active in different ways, reflecting how all three have worked extensively with older communities. Such images reflect a shared understanding reinforced through experience in their day-to-day in their roles. Such facilitators may have felt like representatives of the communities they work with. It is only in considering the social positioning of the respondents and the context within which they work that a greater understanding of how the *thema us/them* shapes representations of older people as active. Though these facilitators were middle-aged females, they can be seen to ally with the older communities they work with. The idea of IP as being a tool to engage active older people to help younger people was far less common however it demonstrates one way in which the *thema us/them* shaped facilitators understanding of what IP is and who it is for. For these three facilitators in particular, IP involved engaging the active ‘us’ (older people) with whom the facilitators aligned themselves, to help the vulnerable ‘them’ (younger people).

Some of the images of older people appearing in facilitators’ talk, were of what others think, particularly of what younger people think. Furthermore, some of these images did align with the images of older people that facilitators were keen to champion. Martin felt that some younger people saw older people as mentors:

“For some of the younger students, they’re away from home for the first time, they’re away from their parents’ influences for the first time. Erm, some cope well with that others don’t. And for the ones that don’t, I think having the opportunity for an intergenerational thing is a substitute if you

like for a parent/kid relationship. Although there's a lot of expectations put on eighteen year olds. I mean you're seventeen years, three hundred and sixty five days old and you're a child. The next day - you're an adult, you know and some make the transition very easily, others don't. And for the ones that don't, I think having somebody around who has a bit of a mature head on is very useful. A couple of students who come here describe me as their garden Dad. So there's a real life example of where we're up to with that type of thing. Erm and I think that's it, it's having this, 'am I doing this right? who will I talk to?' that type of thing, 'who will be a... who will put an informed perspective on what I'm doing, not just as a gardener but what I'm doing generally?'" (Martin, 265-275)

Community garden manager Martin, an older man, shared with me how a couple of the students called him their 'garden Dad'. The intergenerational relationships he facilitated within the garden involved older people helping, teaching and mentoring younger people. According to Martin, these relationships were often substitutes for family relationships. This dynamic of 'old mentoring young' is less common with the IP literature than the alternate 'young helping old' dynamic. The facilitators here however clearly identify with an IP which promotes and celebrates active ageing.

Old public health notions of interventions for the ill and vulnerable may help in trying to understand why active ageing is not always a part of facilitators' understandings of IP. The representations of older people as both vulnerable and as active may depict a tension

between old ideas of illness treatment and newer notions of health promotion and active ageing. Peterson and Lupton (1996) have written extensively on this shift in discourse towards new public health ideas. The facilitators here may be illustrative of attempts within the city to shift towards new public health values whilst much practice and action remains tied to traditional public health values of care and treatment. Though many facilitators offered anecdotes about active older and younger people, in making sense of IP and who it is for facilitators anchored their social representations in practices to help the vulnerable.

6.6.4 'Engaged', 'caring' and 'fun': Intergenerational Practice is for active and engaged younger people

A range of positive representations of younger people were also evident throughout facilitators talk and these were more diverse than the negative representations of younger people however positive representations also appeared less frequently. Facilitators tended to highlight young people's commitment towards their community where as when representing what others' think, younger people's energy was emphasised. In contrast to the idea of younger people as disengaged and disinterested, facilitators saw younger people as engaged, interested and valuing their communities. Younger people were seen as quick to act to defend community assets as highlighted by Ann:

“Usually when you find any challenges around allotment disposal it’s younger people who get a bit ‘ooo, we’ve got to defend our things!’ you know ‘these are our rights!’ and if you work around those areas, you... I think, yeah, I think there’s some huge benefits [to IP].” (Ann, 448-451)

Ann worked predominately with older people yet recognised that many younger people are passionate and interested in the local community. Rather than seeing younger people as in need of skills and confidence as others have done, Ann presented an image of younger people as actively engaged in community concerns and aware of their rights and responsibilities. She presents an image of younger people who take ownership and work to defend their ‘things’. In contrast however to the images of active ageing, where older people are depicted as active contributors to collective resources, here younger people are portrayed more as active in the defence of their individual rights. The active nature of younger people in Ann’s depiction is much more neutral than positive. Unlike the facilitators in the previous section who championed the active nature of older people, here Ann presents her understanding of how to engage younger people through a focus on their rights. Implicit here is an assumption that younger people may otherwise be difficult to engage in IP centred on allotments.

Younger people were seen by Michelle to value both their current community assets and also those skills and assets of the past:

“But we I think particularly in Stoke and working class areas more generally we have a real sort of desire to sort of burn our past and leave it behind. Like ‘forget about the pits because who would want to go back to the mines anyway’ – a typical attitude the middle generation has. And the pots... widespread is the sense that they have died. And they’ve felt ‘right, they’ve died and they were filthy and we don’t want them back’. And then you’ve got the younger generation who are actually really interested in those opportunities and actually haven’t wanted to grow up and go into management”. (Michelle, 236-242)

Michelle pointed to generational differences in attitudes towards employment and industry across the city. She identified a skilled older generation, and an interested younger generation ahead of a dis-interested middle. She presented the image of younger people idolising and aspiring towards the skills of the mining and pottery industries whilst those of the middle generation can’t see beyond the negative impact that these industries left upon the lives of their parents’ generation. Michelle’s image of younger people as hard working and engaged is not at the expense of older people. It is the middle, working-age generation that are in this instance almost demonised as the problematic ‘them’ standing between two generations who admire the same skills and industry. Michelle’s talk was very encouraging for many reasons, because it gave life and context to IP with a real purpose and place within Stoke-on-Trent and because it placed value on the role of both older and younger people. Younger people who are too often

viewed (including by some in this sample) as needing a change in attitude were seen by Michelle as recognising of value of industries which had once thrived in Stoke-on-Trent.

There were few positive references to what others think of younger people, possibly owed to the prominence of negative stereotypes of young people. What was more common, however, in facilitators' talk of how others see younger people was a great degree of resistance towards these negative stereotypes. Mark described how he saw IP as a tool for challenging the idea of younger people as uncaring:

"For older people, I think some of them, I think some older people do also have some myths about young people actually. You know that... so it's been good for older people to see that some of those myths are not there, that you know young people care as much as anybody else about what happens in the world and they generally have... they do care about people – which some older people think younger people don't care about anything at all so [IP] has been good in terms of that." (Mark, 195-199)

Explicitly resisting the stereotype of young people as uncaring, Mark suggested that in his experience, through IP, older people are able to see that young people do care. The emphasis was placed on the negative image of young people as uncaring through the reiteration of the 'myths' around young people. Later during his interview Mark presented another image of younger people, this time as seen by older people, as fun and energetic:

"I think older people tend to see the fun and the sort of newness of young people and that's kinda really good for... it gives them a new zest and sort of reminds them of what they used to be like and there's some nice connections that it makes there." (Mark, 199-202)

The way Mark depicted younger people as almost inspirational to older people parallels the representations of active ageing and older people as inspirational to younger people. Many images of active community members are therefore clearly mutual however depending on the facilitators positioning to the community and the nature of IP, either older or younger people were often seen as a dependant on the other. This latter image of younger people as fun is much less frequent than the image of younger people as lacking in confidence or a threat. Arguably, the facilitators drew upon more negative representations in order to justify IP as a health and social intervention.

The limited presence of references to younger people demonstrates their passivity in the intergenerational agenda, within this city, as passivity reflected in the IP documents (see Chapter 5). The combination of negative representations of younger people and a view of IP as something 'for' older people lends to an ambiguity over the benefit of IP for younger people. This is somewhat understandable when considering that IP has grown as a tool for addressing an ageing population and increasing numbers of older people. Whether the purpose of IP is to provide care for vulnerable old or opportunities for the active old, it is centred on the needs of the older population. In looking at the context within which

IP has burgeoned and what it seeks to address, the absence of younger people becomes increasingly clear and justified.

Representations of participants as both vulnerable and active, allow facilitators to depict and account for the older and younger people they are working with on a day-to-day level. Sometimes it may be appropriate to justify intervention in older or younger people's lives and hence images of vulnerability may to be drawn upon. Conversely, facilitators were often aware of the active contribution older and younger people make to their communities, speaking in defence of those they worked with (us) and portraying the other age group (them) as those in need. In summary, dichotomous social representations of IP participants were present, as either active or vulnerable.

Participants as vulnerable was a common representation and arose from a combination of anchoring these in more familiar experiences of services to help the vulnerable and engagement with stereotypical images. In addition, the age-segregated nature of services and facilitators allegiance with the community they work with meant that facilitators constructed social representations of IP around an existing us/them dichotomy.

6.7 The facilitator of intergenerational practice – What is the facilitator's role?

As highlighted in chapter two, the role of the facilitator within IP is rarely examined in any detail however facilitation of IP has been increasingly recognised as pivotal to its success. The findings from the first study (see Chapter 5) suggested that within IP documents the

role of the facilitator can be framed in different ways, as a more governing, expert role and alternatively as a more activist role. During the interviews in this study, all facilitators guided by the interview schedule were encouraged to reflect upon their own role as a community worker and (potential) IP facilitator. Three distinct roles emerged from the analysis. These roles closely aligned with those identified within the IP documents and were 'the governor', 'the mediator' and 'the activist'. Each of these was found to loosely align with the formal position of the facilitator, be that rear-line, planner or front-line. The dimension (see Figure 6.2) indicates the facilitator as governor on the left hand side and as activist on the right with the mediator between the two. These are referred to as 'role' rather than categories or types of facilitator so as not to suggest that these are exclusive, somehow fixed or representative. Instead facilitators may well adapt different roles in different contexts or even present themselves as being in different roles in different 'talk'. These three types did however each distinctly emerge from the data and were evidenced through different approaches to doing IP and different values and assumptions about what the role of the facilitator should involve. The thema us/them arose here more proximal than in representations of IP participants. Here the thema us/them was evident in how facilitators positioned themselves, as either us (me and my organisation) or us (me and the community I work with).

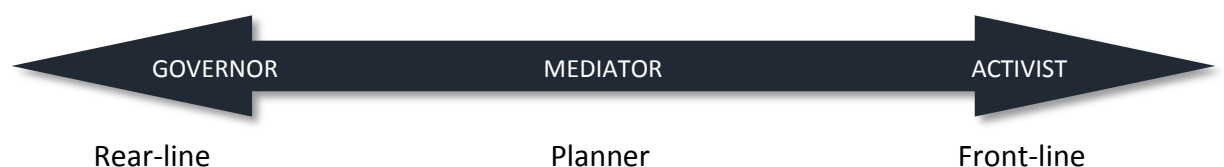


Figure 6.2. Dimension depicting representations of facilitators' role (governor, mediator and activist) and how these map facilitators official role (rear-line, planner and front-line).

6.7.1 The Rear-line facilitator - "The Governor"

The governor represented the facilitator who viewed their role as an expert and manager of their target community. These were more often the rear-line facilitators, the operations managers and business development officers who positioned themselves closer to the assumptions and values of the state or organisation's agendas and less closely to the agendas of the community. The thema us/them was at the root of social representations of facilitators roles. For the governors, notion of 'us' were associated with themselves and their organisation. These facilitators drew more heavily upon more formalised mechanistic notions of IP (i.e., inter-group contact) and prioritised the development and delivery of service agendas, strategies and safeguarding, over a more flexible, organic and community-led approach. In parallel to the facilitator roles which emerged in Chapter five, the governor was seen as the complete opposite to the activist.

When asked about future opportunities for the development of IP, Mark turned his focus directly towards his organisations working strategies:

"Well we as an organisation we see it as an important part of what we do so within our, one of our work objectives we have a team that does community investment and one of their priorities is intergenerational work so they will look for opportunities around that. The same way as our retirement villages

are always looking for opportunities to do intergenerational work. We're just about to, our Ageing Well strategy is just about eighteen months old so we're just about to review it and so one of the things that we'll be doing as a part of that review will be looking at some of the things that have worked and haven't worked if it's such that we think we need to do some more in terms of intergenerational work we might beef up or change up some of our key objectives in the Ageing Well strategy and that's how we'll drive that forward." (Mark, 352-260)

Mark approached IP in an enthusiastic yet very systematic and objective way suggesting that if evaluations of previous projects are deemed successful then the organisation's strategy will change to reflect this. IP was approached by Mark from an expert and managerial orientation and this largely reflects his role as a rear-line manager. He had little day-to-day interaction with the older service users of his organisation and therefore the language he used and the way in which he positioned himself reflected and justified this. The implementation of IP was seen as a top-down process, beginning with the development of a strategy which is subsequently implemented and delivered to the community by service leaders. Mark therefore valued any action that helps to maintain and justify the structure of the organisation.

Others also prioritised a higher organisational agenda over that of the community through encouraging self-governance within the communities they work with and discouraging dependence on services:

“Well I think it’s because of the whole focus on what went on in Stoke-on-Trent with the budget cuts to services which were massively impacted and now you see all these services which have had to pull people out and I mean I wasn’t really doing community development work when communities were just flooded with services that were doing everything for everyone, I wasn’t really there then but obviously it’s not like that now so the idea is if you can get the residents in that way of thinking and that they’ll do it themselves and look after themselves, that way if ever, they don’t, that way they’re never as reliant on services as they were.” (Nathan, 54-60)

Nathan’s neo-liberal attitude encouraged self-governance and recognised that there are not always the financial resources to do ‘everything for everyone’. He saw discouraging dependence on services as a part of his role. A lack of financial resources compared to previous years may help to justify this stance. Many facilitators saw a part of their role as to encourage independence. Nathan in particular drew upon the benefits of this self-governance for services and organisations rather than the community and it is this characteristic of his talk which gave rise to his role of governor.

For many, a major role in the governance of their communities appeared to be ensuring safety and protection. This related to the images of younger and older people as vulnerable others (i.e., them) and the organisation as the active ‘us’. Often fears over safety and protection were to such an extent that they deterred facilitators from conducting projects with mixed age groups:

"I think that's the same with anybody working with vulnerable young people and it's from both aspects as well. I mean the organisations of vulnerable people, they want to know that the people who are coming in and working with them are safe so they want CRB checks, and likewise if we've got anyone that's coming onto our courses as a deliverer or working they need to be CRB checked and that can cause issues because there are financial implications and time. Another part of the course we do is a placement where they go on an individual work placement then. And often we have people trying to get into sort of care homes, to name one example but. Just generally working with other people and places like care homes or if you're working in nurseries they generally want CRB checks as well." (Brian, 72-80)

Youth worker Brian described working with 'others', whether it be other organisations or other communities as inconvenient, as it almost always requires police checks that are costly in terms of time and money. Here Brian drew upon institutional discourses of risk which clearly shape and informed the type of work he conducts. Such discourses could serve to reinforce institutional age segregation and this segregation appears to play out in Brian's talk of intergenerational opportunities. He stated that "often we have people trying to get into...." indicating varying degrees of success for his students in ultimately achieving opportunities to work with other age groups. Brian's role as facilitator is to manage and negotiate access to community projects for his students. If and when resources are scarce it would be easy to imagine such facilitators discouraging IP due to these barriers.

Such institutional age segregation (Hagestad, 2006) may serve to perpetuate representations of the 'other' age as dangerous and risky, or equally as vulnerable. The barriers associated with safeguarding may also have consequences for how IP is represented. Specifically, where intergenerational contact of any kind is time-consuming, costly and difficult to negotiate, facilitators may well not have the time, energy or financial resources to attempt to facilitate high quality intergenerational contact that is based on mutual need and relevance to the community. The facilitator as governor is characterised therefore as a facilitator implementing changes or directing actions upon the population they work with as opposed to working with the population to influence change or negotiate opportunities from within.

6.7.2 The planner – “The Mediator”

The mediator occupied a middle stance, conceptually, between that of governor and activist. Although a tension between more governing and more activist modes of facilitation were evident in the IP documents (see Chapter 5), there was no distinct in-between role as seen here. This role was the most prominent within the data and most common among the 'planners'.

Facilitators constructed their role as mediator in two different senses. Firstly, many saw their role being to mediate the needs of the organisation and the needs of the community. A second mediator role was also seen in balancing the needs of multiple organisations and collaborators as IP most often involved collaboration between

organisations serving different aged populations. The mediator positioned themselves as being an expert by experience and in a privileged position to be able to work on behalf of the community to help them to navigate their way through different opportunities.

Facilitators here found themselves in a tension between *us* and *them* where in some contexts, *us* was the community worked with and in other contexts was the organisation they worked for. A position of relative power was recognised but facilitators appeared to seek to use this to incorporate the needs of the community. These facilitators believe their role involves careful co-ordination between different older and younger populations based upon shared interests and activities. Unlike the governor, the interests and needs of the community were often taken into account but unlike the activist, these needs were however mediated with the broader organisation needs and agenda.

In talk of implementing IP, a feature that clearly arose from facilitators is that *inter-generational* practice began with *inter-organisational* partnerships. Sharon discussed how in establishing previous intergenerational projects she had turned to her existing partnerships for collaboration:

"Yeah, essentially I'd got... I used to work on a group that started off as being some sort of citizenship group erm and then we moved on and we developed and what we did was we developed some loan collections which were called equal people which was about challenging inequality whether that was race, religion, age, sex, whatever it might be and so I'd already got school partners on those citizenship equal people things so I kind of already

had an idea of where I could go. So I had a really strong link with [a particular] High School and the Head of History there and so I would, I went to her and we worked together from there so it was usually where I'd got links." (Sharon, 255-261)

Sharon used existing networks to set up an IP that focused on sharing stories about the Second World War. The nature of IP is often dependent upon the skills, knowledge and resources of facilitators and their collaborators and will invariably involve a negotiation based on joint interests, time and other resources. Where organisational contacts are already established, the initial practical barrier of identifying and negotiating access to the other age groups has already begun. Consequently the goals of IP can be more purposeful as that initial goal of bringing older and younger people into contact is more easily achieved. Conversely, where facilitators use their contacts to develop IP, there is no assurance that the IP will be driven by the needs or wants of those involved, it simply means that the IP is easier to initiate.

As well as managing and mediating partnerships, facilitators also saw their role as mediator between the community and the organisation's agenda – between *us* and *them*. Annette described her experience of helping community members to navigate opportunities:

"My other service is development and support so that's about supporting community groups predominantly again churches or organisations that work

from churches however we will do Stoke-on-Trent Food Bank, we've been instrumental in setting that up, erm so it's very very varied so that's anything from government arrangements, funding opportunities, it might be your constitution or your terms of reference, it depends on what that group needs so it's the develop of the group so we will work to help them develop and sustain it for themselves." (Annette, 70-75)

In her role as community development officer, Annette was able to support and direct communities towards opportunities, helping to identify where strategies and agendas complement the community's needs. As development and support is centred on church based organisations however within this broader organisational agenda, she is able to play a supportive role, directing community groups towards opportunities and helping them to navigate the formal requirements. Annette does not state that certain groups or projects are not supported but by stating the broader aims of her work are connected to the church implies that there are some parameters on what can and cannot be supported. Groups are welcome to apply for support to reach collective goals so long as they work within the boundaries of the guiding organisation. This principle is embedded within the common sense of how funding is commonly distributed however it needs to be highlighted in order to be contrasted with the goals and aims of IP which are often more ambitious from the community perspective, assuming that all and any change is possible. Funding support offered by Annette is typical to funding available across the city and clearly whilst these are opportunities for communities to act, they are bounded within

the limits of organisations agendas ensuring that the extent of any social change achieved is deemed manageable and appropriate.

The examples above serve to illustrate how mediation and negotiation both across and within organisations is integral to implementing IP in Stoke-on-Trent. It is important to emphasise that the facilitator as mediator is not just a role played by those working with age-specific organisations but also highlighted as important for those working with cross-generational groups. Martin was an advocate of intergenerational learning and described how he strategically manipulated the social environment within his projects in order to ensure intergenerational communication:

“Yeah I mean if you’re not careful what happens is people isolate themselves and so they’re working, it’s a big site here and what will happen is people will isolate themselves and go with their friends and they’ll work in little pockets and things so part of what I do is manipulate that really and make people work together when they’re here. So I’ll select intergenerational groups if you like to do work down here and that tends to work very well and it’s done with a sense of humour behind it as well you know you come down here for a laugh apart from everything else as well.” (Martin, 226-231)

According to Martin, when left to work unmanaged, people form age stratified ‘little pockets’ and he sees his role as being to form intergenerational relationships. Martin’s observations of age stratification within his projects are perhaps unsurprising if parallels

are drawn with other social categories such as race. Moody (2001) for example, found that children often segregated themselves into racial groups in and out of the classroom and argued that this reflected a broader community racial segregation. What is suggested here is that without the facilitators' intervention, there would be little to no intergenerational communication within what Martin initially described to me as an intergenerational environment. The role of the facilitator here moves beyond facilitating contact between two groups and towards facilitating communication and intergenerational learning. Mediation is made easier than it appears to others as the different generational groups are already engaged in a project of mutual interest, meaning little negotiation and sacrifice is involved from either party compared to a scenario where neither group is familiar with the physical environment or activity.

As illustrated in the examples here, the role of mediator in IP is largely a result of age segregated nature of social institutions. This usually requires the facilitator to mediate the needs of at least two institutional agendas before IP can be implemented. The second feature is the tension between service agenda and community needs. The facilitator plays the mediator between the organisation and the community and subsequently plays a significant role in determining whose agenda takes priority. Martin's experience is a unique one in this sample where the intergenerational community he worked with appear to naturally work in age segregated groups yet Martin used his role as an opportunity to manipulate the social environment and create pockets of intergenerational communication.

6.7.3 The front-line facilitator – “The Activist”

The activist conceptually sits in complete opposition to the governor. Some facilitators positioned themselves not as expert but as one equally sitting with members of the community. In terms of power, these facilitators saw themselves as no more than a community representative and often used their privileged position to campaign for and act on behalf of the community's needs. More often than not, it was those in front-line roles than aligned themselves in this way. These facilitators' representations of their own role were likewise rooted in the *us/them* theme. *Us* in this instance meant me and the community and *them* meant any institutions, organisations or bureaucracy presenting a barrier to the community's goals. Broader community agendas and strategies were not only less important to the activist but also actively fought against where these were not compatible with the needs and goals of the community. IP was consequently seen as an opportunity to identify common causes for older and younger communities and establish collaborative action towards positive social change beyond the psycho-social benefits attributed to short-term IP and towards a deeper systemic social change.

Elements of the facilitator as activist are seen in Nathan's approach to working on a project:

“And you know and then if they come up with something, like some of the work I've been doing is around anti-social behaviour and young people. They were the key issues so the end goal was something that would serve them

and help them so that's what you do, just make it so that everything you can put in is a well-rounded service that is able to sustain in the future and help the people who are getting involved develop it as well. So everything that I'm trying to do is geared around making things fully sustainable and helping all the people and all the assets involved to strengthen and get better."

(Nathan, 43-49)

Nathan's overall approach to the community projects he facilitates demonstrate elements of activism. For Nathan, key issues arose from discussions with the community and it is the community who identify what for them needs to change. He saw his role as supporting groups of people to achieve their own goals through sustainable solutions that strengthen the community and its assets. Consequently, any IP would aim to address community concerns and would only be implemented where relevant to the community's needs and interests. Such IP might involve challenges to social norms around age groups and challenges to organisational structures and protocols.

The activist role also appears in facilitators' talk of instigating projects. For Laura it was important that projects were not only centred on community interests but that they were also given time and space to grow and develop more organically. Here, in talk of the key barriers to the development of IP, in contrast to other facilitators, funding is dismissed as a key concern, the focus instead is on how the community can sustain a project over time. For Laura, the key was in facilitating ownership and therefore sustainable initiatives that are flexible and focused on people:

"Sometimes, it can be funding but in the case of what we do it isn't that important because you look, we look, at what skills people have got. So your older residents for example, they might do knit and nat'. They might love knitting, so OK let's do knit and nat', we only need a room, you know. So that doesn't cost anything does it? They all bring their knitting needles, they do something for charity or whatever. Erm... I mean I run a friendship group on a Tuesday afternoon... five years ago and there was only three of us when we set it up, myself who set it up with another lady who's in her seventies, and that's been running five years now and there's thirty-odd people there now, you know they come every week. It's a social gathering. She cooks for them once a month you know and this is how things grow, it's about getting that trust. Looking at what skills they've got and then doing something around their interests you know, 'cause like you say you might think we I'll do something on this, they might like a talk from Age Concern or something but they might say no actually, I don't really want it, I'd rather do this you know. Or like I'm doing nail art with them in five weeks' time. They're all in their eighties but they love it you know, it's about actually asking them isn't it? What they want to do." (Laura, 64-77)

Laura was not only keen to focus on the finding opportunities for projects that will fulfil the community's needs and interests, she was also willing to put aside any higher agenda and suggested projects if the community was not interested. Laura said 'it's about asking them' and perhaps it is the level of direct-contact with the community that enables Laura

to side with them, seeing the community as *us* and prioritising their needs and concerns. Laura may apply her 'it's about asking them' value and her community may express an interest in working with younger people. The first subsequent challenge would be in finding younger people that have equally expressed an interest in working with older people – in order to ensure the younger people have agency and are not simply passive recipients of the project.

An unknown from Laura's talk is the extent to which she and her organisation would follow the interests of the older community she works with. I would have felt uncomfortable to have prompted and probed any further but was curious as to the true extent of community action possible with Laura's support. I have no doubt that the examples of activities and goals achieved (communal eating, 'knit and nat' and nail art) are driven by the interests of the community however these are far from radical and left me curious as to how Laura would respond to a request from the community for more radical action.

Those who worked across age groups were able to demonstrate very small yet tangible actions that display the principles of activism, working alongside the community to fight for their agenda in the face of opposition from more powerful figures:

"They were thinking 'how do I even get this idea off the ground?' Even if it was something simple like it was an intergenerational, multi-cultural event in the park which was just eating but like a big picnic, just a way to get people

together. And a few people were saying 'I would really like to do that!'. And well we'd say it doesn't really need much organising, you just need a few people but it's having the confidence to think well I can do that! And she was saying 'Well do we have to get permission?' And I said 'well you're just a group going for a picnic in the park aren't you? which is what people do every Sunday'" (Simon, 72-87)

Simon expressed how he saw his own role as being to listen to the needs of the local community and then support them to achieve their own solutions. He saw a large part of his role as confidence building and encouragement. This was the only paired interview conducted and the only interview conducted away from the facilitators' workplace, in a local café. It was at this point in the interview, the second facilitator present, Rowena interjected and highlighted some of the barriers faced in attempted to empower this community to organise their own community picnic in the park:

"Except we had to get permission just to do that and that's the other problem which is when they've got a brilliant idea, we've had something called 'picnic in the park' which was just for local people to come along and have a picnic and we were told 'no, you have to fill in this permission slip and you have to get public toilets'. And we were going 'but it's local people? They'll use their own toilets!' The second time they did it, I just said I'm not booking them toilets, they were never used, they were two hundred pounds the first time, never used! So if anyone wants to use the toilet they can use

ours. And that's what we did. So if people needed the loo we say 'right come up to ours!' (Simon & Rowena, 59-73)

Rowena passionately presented a list of the obstacles faced when attempting to help her community group. Her role here was to find the most cost effective and simplest solution to organising this event regardless of higher agendas and more formal requirements.

Without Rowena's solution, the community picnic in the park may have been too costly to be implemented. Where communities are looking to set up intergenerational events such as the picnic in the park example, facilitators such as Rowena and Simon clearly played a pivotal role. In contrast to the governor, who may implement IP as a tool for achieving organisational objectives, the activist sought to empower communities to voice their interests and concerns and then negotiate opportunities for a simple small-scale action.

It is clear that all three roles, the governor, mediator and planner, are able to implement IP of some description. The difference lies in how the *us/them* thema gives shape to the construction of the facilitators' role. It lies in whose agenda takes priority and who takes ownership of the project. What is apparent in all instances is the pivotal role of the facilitator, especially for age-segregated communities where projects often require collaborations between organisations.

6.8 Tensions in intergenerational practice and two broad representational fields of knowledge

Two conflicting representational fields emerge of IP have emerged from facilitators talk (see Figure 6.1). In one field, IP is represented as an individualistic intervention based on inter-group contact in order to manage problem individuals. This IP is designed and implemented through a structured program and likely part of a broader organisational agenda. Possibilities for social change are limited here because of the individualist assumptions regarding the problems IP is seeking to address. Alternatively, the other field shows an understanding of IP as community action, drawing upon the interests and skills of a community in order to achieve a social change desired by all involved. Mostly such change is modest and psycho-social in nature and stems from a collective effect to create environments where all ages can carry out their interests. The latter form of IP is more likely to be supported by facilitators who prioritise community voices and seek to empower communities to achieve their own goals.

Conflicting yet co-existing interpretations of a single phenomenon are explained through the theory of social representations. Understanding is often recognised as polyphasic and some argue that this cognitive polyphasia helps social representations in serving a communicative function (Renedo & Jovchelovitch, 2007). The conflicting social representations of IP identified within facilitators talk may serve different communicative functions, a more pragmatic function as well as to communicate the promotion of values. IP is valued as a means to achieve community change and celebrate the active

engagement of older and younger people yet in practice this may prove more difficult due to working culture and the infrastructure of organisations. These differing communicative functions may allow such conflicting ideas to co-exist and continue to circulate as each representation is justified through the function it serves.

Furthermore, this failure to form a consensus on how IP attempts to promote social change and what social change can in fact be achieved through IP, may be due to the themata at the root of different social representations within IP. Themata are more stable than social representations, resistant to change and are easily passed on through culture and from generation to generation (Markova, 2000). Two themata appear to be at the root of the social representations presented here: *individualism/collectivism* and *us/them*. The former appears to underpin facilitators' understandings of what IP is and what change it can achieve. *Us/them* shapes who facilitators see as active or vulnerable in IP and also whose needs they ally with in attempts to promote action (the organisation they work for or the community they work with).

6.9 Social representations of intergenerational practice in talk: personal reflections

My initial impressions of IP during and immediately following the interviews were of a practice that is much more logistically difficult to facilitate than practice for a single age group. I was struck by just how age-segregated services and organisations are in Stoke-

on-Trent which left me almost sympathetic to an understanding of IP which is simply about establishing contact with no broader goal or purpose.

The coding framework gave a deductive skeletal structure to the initial analytic stages. The drive to identify key concepts from both the literature and from the IP document better enabled me to suspend some of my judgements regarding IP.

Having completed the analysis of the document data and having produced a report of these findings, I entered into the interviews and the subsequent analysis with the awareness of the tensions within these. During the interviews, I was hyper-conscious of these tensions and grew aware that the thema individualism/collectivism appeared to also play a part in this data set. It was not however until the coding stage that the role of the thema *us/them* became apparent. I had developed a mental catalogue of various representations of older and younger people as I proceeded through the interviews however the role of the underpinning thema only revealed itself in the detailed and systematic analysis.

One of the most striking features of the data was the degree of modesty the ambitions of IP facilitators talked about, in contrast to the radical community action advocated by the documents. I finished the interviews and the analysis with a realisation that the image of IP presented in the documents may be even more idealistic than I had previously thought and that the scope of change possible is more often than not limited by the power, agenda and resources of those who facilitate it.

6.10 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented an analysis of facilitators talk of their role and of IP. The research questions asked were:

1. What social representations characterise facilitators' talk of intergenerational practice?
2. What role do social representations play in facilitators' talk of intergenerational practice and those who participate in it?
3. What do facilitators perceive as opportunities and barriers to developing IP?

A sample of 18 facilitators were recruited to participate in a semi-structured interviews. Interview transcripts were then subject to a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) in order to identify shared ideas and assumptions. The analysis revealed how facilitators held polyphasic social representations of IP, practice participants and the role of the facilitator. Understanding of IP ranged from it being a simply about contact, being about sharing interests to being about mobilising community action. Both older and younger participants were represented as being either vulnerable or active. Representations of the facilitators' role ranged from 'governor', through 'mediator' to 'activist'. Underpinning the conflict across all social representations were the themata *individualism/collectivism* and *us/them*. These more deeply rooted ideas contributed to sustaining these conflicting understandings. On the one hand IP was understood as an intervention for problem individuals while on the other hand was understood as a tool from collective community-

led change. The thema *us/them* originated in the age segregated nature of institutions, stereotypical images and facilitators' allegiances to both the organisation they worked for and the community they worked with.

7 Intergenerational practice in action: building, piloting and analysing an initiative

*“Communication leads to community, that is, to understanding, intimacy and
mutual valuing”*

- Rollo May

7.1 Chapter overview

This chapter details the research findings from the OAYSES project, an IP developed with an older people’s service in Stoke-on-Trent and piloted over six weeks in one secondary school. The aims of the research were to explore the social representations within IP, the processes involved and also the types of social change achievable within the scope of a typical IP. Mixed qualitative data collected with the older and younger participants and project staff before, during and after the project revealed themes and social representations. The main findings illustrated that the benefits of this small scale IP were in its capacity to provide inclusive spaces which empowered older and younger people to challenge negative social representations of others. Crucially, while the project illustrated the complexity of contact and the limitations of inter-group contact models it also demonstrated the limits of social change achievable in small time-limited IP such as the OAYSES project.

7.2 Research aims

The overarching study aims were to explore the relationship between IP and social change. The present study used a single case study to address the following research questions:

1. What social representations characterise intergenerational practice in action?
2. What social change is achieved through intergenerational practice?
3. What processes are involved in intergenerational practice?

7.3 Reflexivity and my own attempt at 'embracing the messiness'

Stoecker (2003) proposed three broad roles which scholars have adopted in community based participatory research. The first is the initiator. This role, he suggested, emerges when the researcher as a privileged outsider initiates contact and uses their own resources to identify avenues of change for the community. The second role is that of consultant. He proposed that the consultant approach involves the community commissioning the research and the academic conducting it whilst being held accountable to the community. These two roles have been critiqued for their inability to grant full ownership of any community based research to the community itself. Alternatively, Stoecker saw a third role, the collaborator, as the optimal role for academics to remain true to the principles of action research. In this approach, the community leader draws upon the researcher's technical skills while control is ultimately

within the hands of the community. My own role in the intergenerational project discussed here, involved me as academic and initiator, consultant and collaborator at different points in time, with different stakeholders and in different contexts throughout the development of the project. As a result, the nature of my role was a messy one. For this reason I echo calls (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Olesen, 2003; Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008), for greater reflexivity in accounts of community based research, not only because the role of the academic is less clear cut than in other contexts but also because the role of the community health psychologist is never value free but instead driven by caring and compassion (Murray et al, 2004). Though the relationship between academic and community is inevitably value driven and sometimes difficult to navigate, Campbell and Cornish (2014: 11) have urged scholar-activists to “embrace the messiness of real-life social change projects”. This chapter in many senses is a report of the messiness of IP and my reflections on the types of social change possible.

7.4 Local context

Chapter two concluded by arguing that research and evaluation into the processes and outcomes of IP is too often reductionist, determinist and fails to capture the wider context within which those projects were conducted. In Chapter three, I outlined a critical social psychological approach with which to understand processes and address ‘how’ questions, such processes cannot be isolated from their surrounding context. This section provides a brief overview of the local context within which a pilot IP was developed (a

more detailed account of the nature of Stoke-on-Trent, its older and younger populations and how they might benefit from IP is available in Appendix A).

7.4.1 The nature of Stoke-on-Trent

Stoke-on-Trent (known locally as The Potteries) has a population of around 250,000 people. It is a city comprising of six towns and is known for being warm and creative (www.stoke.gov.uk, 2015). Like many industrial cities within the UK, Stoke-on-Trent has seen many changes in the past few decades and has had to adapt according to a changing economy. The decline of the pottery industry and the closure of coal mines have meant that employment and career prospects are very different for young people today than they were fifty years ago.

Stoke-on-Trent is a relatively deprived city on domains such as health, disability, income and education. It ranked as the 16th most deprived local authority area out of a total of 326 areas in England (NHS England, 2013). Life expectancy for both men and women in the city is lower than the national average. Despite substantial change and disadvantage, Stoke-on-Trent people have been described as some of the friendliest in the UK, something the city prides itself on (stoke.gov.uk, 2015) and the city's pottery has more recently seen a resurgence (Rice, 2010).

7.4.2 Older and younger people: opportunities for intergenerational practice

For younger people locally, access to employment, education and training are key issues and despite its supposed friendliness, loneliness and isolation among older people have been highlighted as priority issues by local government. The Stoke-on-Trent Public Health department estimated that 4000 people aged 65 and over across the city are experiencing long-term loneliness.

The semi-structured interviews with community facilitators (findings detailed in the previous chapter) revealed a number of issues and assets in relation to older and younger people according to those who work closely with them as well as potential benefits and challenges to IP (Appendix A). Common issues for both older and younger people were social isolation, difficulty coping with life transitions and low confidence. A shared asset was older and younger people's commitment to project and to the city. IP was viewed by facilitators as an opportunity for befriending, intergenerational learning and digital inclusion among others. Key barriers were setting up partnerships, finding skilled facilitators and funding.

7.5 Engaging others in action

The development of a pilot IP was an aim from the beginning of this research project. Initially I held large ambitions for a project that would systematically change the city for the better. What eventually emerged was a modest project but successful project, the development of which involved a variety of stakeholders and included planning extending

over twelve months (details of the procedural steps involved in creating and facilitating the OAYSES project can be found in Appendix J). This section offers a summary of how the OAYSES project developed. In line with an autoethnographic approach (Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011) personal observations and reflections help make explicit the impact I had on the project and the impact of the project on me both personally and professionally.

As discussed in Chapter four, networking with local organisations was integral throughout the course of the research project. Study two allowed me to build greater relationships with key community organisations. Although several organisations had appeared enthusiastic about developing a project, one particular organisation, who run an older persons service expressed an immediate enthusiasm and also had the resources available to begin project development.

7.5.1 Playing mediator: satisfying both collaborators and communities

I arranged a meeting with Jenny (a pseudonym), a manager at the collaborating organisation who suggested gaining some further input from a City Council Community Cohesion officer. The three of us subsequently met several times over the following months to discuss the potential benefits, challenges and practicalities of IP (see Appendix J for details). Though Jenny and I eventually agreed that the interests of the project participants should steer the nature of the activities, I did feel under pressure to present Jenny with a more prescriptive 'model' of how the project would run. This pressure may have been self-imposed and stemmed from a desire to present myself as well-prepared

and equipped to deliver something. It took conscious effort to make explicit the community-led ethos of the project and my aim to develop something *with* the community rather than something to be delivered *to* the community.

The final brief for the OAYSES (Old And Young Sharing Each other's Stories) project was broad and our aims were to:

- Provide opportunities to share knowledge, skills and experience
- Build community cohesion in Stoke-on-Trent
- Address stigma and stereotypes associated with being old or young
- Explore the City's past, present and future.
- Build confidence and self-esteem
- Help tackle loneliness among older people in the city
- Promote wellbeing through social participation

These aims along with a description of the project and an extensive list of potential intergenerational activities were collated into a project proposal (Appendix L) which was then sent to local secondary schools in the hope of engaging younger people. The list of potential intergenerational activities was my attempt to negotiate my role as 'consultant' in Stoecker's (2003) sense of the term, as that intermediate scholar-activist role between the less ideal 'initiator' and preferred 'collaborator' role. The document implicitly said 'I am not going to design a project to implement, instead I will offer a wide range of possibilities to inspire participants and encourage them to pursue their own interests'.

7.5.2 The challenge of engaging a local school

University ethical approval was granted in September 2014, at which point the Community Cohesion Officer and I began approaching primary and secondary schools across the city. This stage in the process was challenging and once again I experienced the push and pull of different institutional priorities and my own priorities as a scholar-activist. It occurred to me early on in the school recruitment process that schools would perhaps require more than an abstract notion of IP. Questions then arose of how to best 'market' the project to schools. A total of 33 schools in Stoke-on-Trent were contacted by the team and after three months of contact attempts, a secondary school close to the centre of the city responded positively to a recruitment email and a meeting with the school was arranged.

The partner academy was a school deemed by Ofsted (the regulatory body) to be in need of immediate improvements. During an initial meeting with the student services team I was informed of the school's aim to have every student involved in at least one extra curricula activity. The school support staff only had three questions prior to agreeing to host the OAYSES project. Firstly, I was asked what specific activities the project would involve. Despite having highlighted some of the social psychological benefits to students in the project proposal, by this time I had begun to see a pattern emerging where institutions expected a particular amount of structure and content ahead of agreeing to collaborate. The school also asked how much the project would cost the school and whether or not students would receive certificates of attendance. The latter question I

felt very much echoed the emphasis in previous IP literature on the perceived benefits for younger people. It was clear to me that the school were interested in building student's skills over any other benefit of IP.

7.5.3 The OAYSES project

The project consisted of six weekly meetings which lasted for 60 to 90 minutes and took place in the school's community room after school hours every Monday. One of the student support staff, James (a pseudonym) was present or on hand during all six OAYSES sessions.

Each session would generally be introduced by myself, more formally in the first session and less formally as the sessions continued in an attempt to instil a sense of ownership of the project in the younger and older people.

Following the initial sessions the younger participants would leave as soon as the official hour was over, though during later weeks, the younger participants began to wait for the older participants they had spent that session with to be ready to leave. For me, this act of the younger people taking additional time to wait with the older people, demonstrated the capacity of IP for building intergenerational relationships in such a short space of time.

7.5.4 The community mural

The idea of creating a community mural was introduced in the first week of the project as well as in the separate meetings with the participants prior to this. The hope was that the mural would serve several functions including empowering the group, strengthening community cohesion and providing a sense of ownership. The resulting piece of community art could then have been disseminated to the wider community through a display in the school or community organisation premises. The use of community arts has been shown to complement projects aimed at promoting various levels of social change but particularly psych-social empowerment, through fulfilling these different functions (McIntyre, 2007; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2011; Murray & Crummett, 2010). Despite offering participants much time to reflect upon and discuss ways to approach a community mural or collaborative piece of art, the idea was not well received. Following the second session I asked one younger participant – Natalie, what her thoughts were on creation of the mural and her response was that she just preferred sitting and listening to Martin. Stoecker (2003) reminded academics working within community based participatory research to ask the community members how much research participation they need and want. In asking myself how much participatory art the OAYSES participants needed and wanted, a decision had to be made whether to pursue the completion of a community mural, despite participant apprehensions or to retire the idea. After a lengthy discussion about the ethos of participatory research with the Keele University Action Research Network, the decision was made to retire the idea of the mural as the remaining four weeks would be better spent encouraging the participants to pursue their own

interests and goals for the project. Though this meant abandoning the idea of this particular group creating something to be shared with the wider community, it was a decision that was community-led and therefore more aligned with the ethos of participation in action research (Greenwood & Levin, 2007).

7.5.5 After the project: making lasting connections between people and organisations.

The OAYSES project did not end so abruptly at 4:15pm on the final Monday of the pilot project. Mementos of the experience, opportunities for the participants and further collaborations did emerge. During the final OASYES session James took a photograph of the group. At the follow-up focus groups I handed out framed prints of the photograph for each of the older participants and certificates of completion for the younger participants. The photographs in particular aimed to serve as a memento of the project and the certificates aimed to formalise the project for the younger participants' CVs, college and job applications. It was during the final OAYSES session that James and I began to talk about the success of the project and opportunities for future projects. James also informed the staff and older participants about an upcoming school performance of *The little shop of horrors* and enquired as to whether they would be interested in attending. Three of the older participants were enthusiastic about attending and as a result, the three participants, myself and Tom (a facilitator) attended the school production one evening several weeks later. Our group were allocated VIP seats on the

front row of the audience with signs marked ‘reserved: OAYSES project’ a warm touch that the older participants appeared delighted about.

7.6 Intergenerational practice in action: research methods

A range of research methods were employed to address the three research questions; focus groups, interviews, creative methods, ethnographic observations and researcher diary. These research methods are discussed further in Chapter Four.

7.6.1 Participants

The younger participants comprised of six female students aged 14 to 16 years. The older participants comprised of four females and one male aged 64 to 78 years. All participants were white British and lived within two miles of the hosting school. Table 7.1 provides details of the participants involved in the project. All of whom consented to participate in the associated research (see Appendices M, N & O for information sheets and Appendices P, Q & R for consent forms).

Table 7.1. *Brief OAYSES project participant profiles*

Generation	Participant pseudonym	Profile
Younger	Natalie	16 years old, the eldest of the younger people and in her final year at school. Natasha described herself as having a

		large family but few older relatives and joined the project out of an interest in hearing the stories of older people.
	Brittany	14 years old and in year nine. Close friends with Cara. Brittany described being interested in having something different and fun to do after school.
	Cara	14 years old and in year nine. Close friends with Brittany. Cara was also interested in getting involved in something different and fun after school.
	Megan	15 years old and in year ten. Megan was a self-confessed 'naughty student' who described joining the project out of boredom and a need for something to do after school.
	Kate	15 years old and in year ten. Friends with Grace. Kate cited an interest in a career helping older people as her reasons for joining the project.
	Grace	15 years old and in year ten. Friends with Kate. Grace was only able to attend three of the six sessions.
Older	Helen	65 years old and a volunteer for the older adults' organisation. Helen had a very large family and volunteered for a number of organisations. She experienced mobility problems and used crutches.

Martin 76 years old and a service user of the older adults' organisation. Martin lived with his wife though described having few opportunities to socialise with others. I was informed that Martin's dementia meant that he sometimes experienced difficulty with memory and communication.

Joan 78 years old and a service user of the older adults' organisation. Joan joined the project in session 3. Joan had very little regular contact with others. She enjoyed cross-stitch and taught several of the younger participants to cross-stitch during the project sessions.

Fay 68 years old and a service user of the older adults' organisation. Fay also joined the project in session 3 expressing a keen interest in spending more time with younger people.

Christine 64 years old and a volunteer for the older adults' organisation. Christine was the youngest of the older participants. Christine volunteered for several organisations. She had never had children of her own and joined the project to spend time with younger people.

7.6.2 Procedure

Focus groups were conducted with the older and younger participants separately, both one to two weeks before the project began and also a few weeks after the project had ended. Both focus groups with the younger participants were conducted at the host school in the community room and both focus groups with the older adults took place at the older adults' organisation premises in their community room.

Two semi-structured dyadic interviews were conducted with the two facilitators. Both of these took place at the older organisations' premises in the same weeks that the initial and follow-up focus groups took place.

Throughout the project sessions a researcher diary was maintained. All outputs from creative activities were recorded and photographs of these were collated. Ethnographic observations were made throughout and these were recorded as a part of the researcher diary. Table 7.2 shows when different research methods were employed in relation to the project sessions.

Table 7.2. *Research methods employed throughout the OAYSES project.*

<i>OAYSES sessions</i>		1	2	3	4	5	6	School play
<i>Research methods</i>	Focus Groups Interviews			Researcher diary Ethnographic observations Creative activities				Focus Groups Interviews

7.6.3 Analytic Procedure

Triangulating the various text and visual data required planning. The four focus groups and two interviews were transcribed verbatim. The researcher diary was re-formatted with line numbers and identifiable information anonymised. Photographs of creative work were collated and labelled according to which session they related to. Any identifiable information was also blurred or obscured within photographs to protect participant identities.

All data was subject to a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Guided by Braun and Clarke (2006) the first stage of analysis involved becoming familiar with the data. With this data set, although it all felt very familiar having been derived from a project I had developed, it developed a degree of newness once the lived element of it had been stripped away and I was left with the dense text and visual data.

As in studies one and two, this thematic analysis was positioned more at the social constructionist end of the semantic-level/constructionist spectrum described by the authors. Unlike with the previous two studies, the analysis of this data set did not begin with a detailed set of a priori codes. The intention of this study was to address the research questions through a data set pertaining to one particular case study. Openness to ideas emerging from the data therefore took priority over the identified of pre-existing ideas, concepts and social representations. Coding began with the researcher diary initially and then incorporated the focus groups, interviews and finally the visual data.

Although there was no formal set of a priori codes, the social representations identified in studies one and two were held in awareness during the coding process and similar concepts and ideas were noted along with emergent common sense ideas or observations regarding IP and those involved.

In line with the second research question regarding IP outcomes, the coding focused also on what had changed through exploring anything in the data relevant to participant thoughts (e.g. older people are invisible), feelings (e.g. pity for older people) and experience (witnessing young people as aggressive) either as expressed in talk, observed and noted in the researcher diary or expressed creatively and captured in a photo. A final focus of the coding stage helped in addressing the final research question regarding processes. Codes were developed as labels for observed actions, thinking (as described either explicitly or implicitly in talk) and also reasons and justifications for actions and thinking. A sample of codes can be seen in Appendix Z.

Most codes were created during coding of the researcher diary with few added subsequently. I attributed this to the data being very much in sync. The visual data was coded last and much of this appeared to evidence the codes and prominent ideas in the other data. The image of Helen for example, provided a visual example of how the code 'the participants as the face of older people', a code which subsequently fed into the theme of IP participants as "not like the others".

The search for themes was highly iterative and it was during this stage that the social representations and underpinning themata came to be identified and though alternatives were actively sought, similar social representations with the same underpinning themata were identified.

The most challenging stage in the analysis of this data set was the lesser discussed sixth stage: producing the written report. It was a challenge to identify an appropriate way to tell the story of the data, as Braun and Clarke (2006) specify, with such varied data at hand from multiple time points. The final version of the report of findings presented here tells the story of the data in a chronological manner to showcase how the project began, proceeded and concluded and the social representations, outcomes and processes evident at each of these points in time.

7.6.4 Strengths and limitations of the methods

A key methodological strength of this phase was that it used creative methods within an action research framework to both promote social change and capture processes involved in that change. The focus groups complemented the action research framework by offering the participants space within which to voice their views on what they want from the project and what they gained. The focus groups also added in-depth and detailed data from participants before and after the intergenerational project. The semi-structured interviews allowed for detailed data about the facilitators' role and insight into the IP to be collected.

Two key limitations of the methods used relate to the nature of the action research design. Due to budget and time constraints, the OAYSES project was piloted for just six weeks in this initial instance. Furthermore, due to the large number of gatekeepers involved such as the school head teacher, school support staff and parents as well as the partner charity, it was difficult to consult with the participant groups (i.e. the younger and older people) from the outset. This could have strengthened the design of the action research and made it more participatory as the participants would have been co-researchers throughout (Greenwood & Levin, 2007).

7.6.5 Reflexive comments on the research methods

Due to the highly involved and collaborative nature of action research, reflexivity is essential (Greenwood & Levin, 2007). Whilst interviewing facilitators in this study and study two, rapport was generally quick to be established, this was more difficult with both the younger and older participants in study three. The initial focus group with the younger participants was the most difficult in terms of rapport building. Despite being the same gender, only around 12 years older and local to the area, the younger people were initially hesitant to speak or to expand on anything they said. I had not considered in advance just how much of an outsider I would be to this group. I tried to encourage a sense of ownership to the younger people at that first meeting by reassuring the younger participants that the OAYSES project was for them, asking them about their ideas and interests. By the end of the first focus group with the younger people, a degree rapport had been established and their hesitancy had lessened.

Fewer barriers between the younger participants and myself were present during the use of creative methods and also the final focus group. Fewer barriers were present with the older participants also, though an expert-participant dynamic was very clearly perceived by some of the older people. I noted some people asking me if it was OK to do certain things such as bring in photographs or cross-stitch, despite best efforts to instil a sense of the OAYSES project being for them and about their interests. As with the younger people, these barriers diminished over time after enough reassurance that the OAYSES project space was for the participants to explore shared interests and goals.

7.7 Intergenerational practice in action: research findings

The themes and social representations which emerged from the analysis are presented in Figure 7.1. The analysis revealed the types of social change possible from the IP (i.e. enhanced wellbeing, friendships and a sense of community cohesion) and some of the processes involved in achieving that change (i.e. the facilitation of inclusive spaces). Social representations of older and younger as vulnerable or active circulated within the project and these representations witnessed some degree of change or resistance during the projects life-span. The role of the facilitator of IP was also represented through the data as mediator. As in studies one and two, the themes and social representations of IP here were underpinned by the thema *individualism/collectivism*. The thema *us/them* underpinned social representations of both the participants and the facilitators involved.

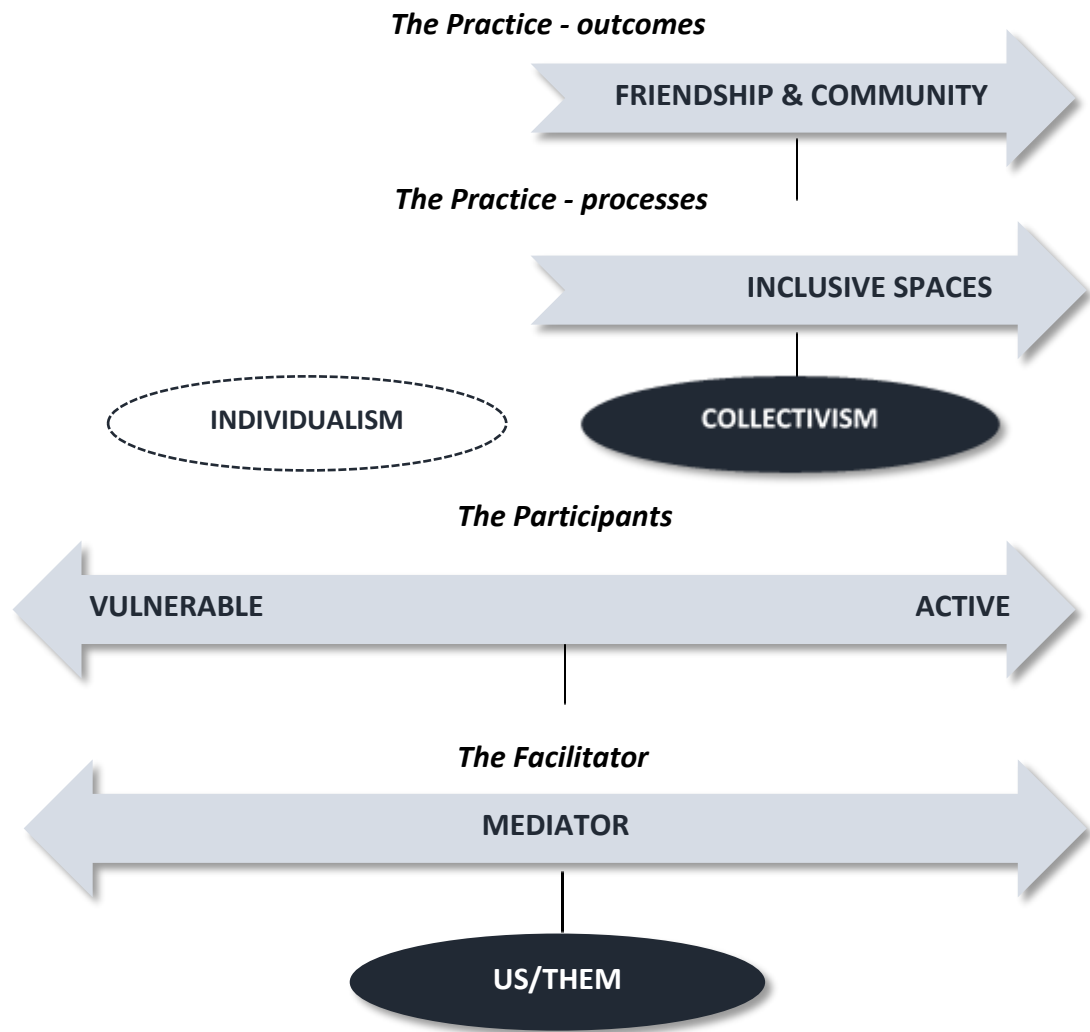


Figure 7.1. Themes and social representations identified within the analysis along with underlying themata.

The findings are presented in a narrative from the initiation of the project, through to its conclusion. Within this narrative the themes and social representations illustrated in Figure 7.1 are drawn upon where appropriate.

7.7.1 Initial representations of *us* and *them* as active or vulnerable

Both the younger and older participants initially viewed themselves as active, and viewed other younger and older people as vulnerable. These social representations were shaped by the thema *us* and *them* where *us* was defined as their own participant group and *them* as both the other age group and (surprisingly) also others in their own age group outside of the project group. Initial representations came to the fore when the group were asked what life is like in the city for older and younger people:

N: I think a lot of people our age intimidate the older people now and I don't think it's fair to be honest because you've got people that have been in the war and fought for us and given us what we've got today and they've got no respect for them whatsoever. (YP1, 29)

Natalie drew upon negative images of both older and younger people but was quick to distance herself from these, stating that she does not feel that the behaviour of younger people is fair. She highlighted negative representations of older people but resisted these by insisting that older people deserve respect. Although Natalie referred to older people as fighting in the war she did this with reference to how older people are being intimidated and disrespected. Natalie's quote evokes a sense of 'we are the active, well-behaved one in a society of vulnerable others'. It appeared that for the younger participants, the act of participation in IP was a way in which to distance themselves from other younger people and demonstrate that older people deserve more respect.

This image of younger people as disrespectful was also evident during the early weeks of the project, in the intergenerational conversations. During the third session Christine demonstrated how an image of younger people as troublesome was a dominant one among the older participants. The following note was made in the researcher diary following that particular session:

Christine, who had previously been very anxious about entering a school environment, appeared to really enjoy the session again today. She asked Megan, at one point where all the naughty children are. Megan pointed at Cara and said, there's one there! At which Christine laughed. (RD, 129)

By asking where all the naughty children are, Christine could be seen to be making Cara aware that she knows that not all children and young people are like Cara or the other younger participants. In doing so, she contrasted the younger participants on the OAYSES project with 'other' younger people, 'the naughty children'.

The younger participants were very engaged with the negative images of children and young people that circulated. When asked during the initial focus group how they think older people view younger people, Natalie responded with the following:

N: Gangsters. They think all teenagers are gangsters.

C: Yeah! [Laughs] (YP1, 24-25)

This strong assertion from Natalie resulted in nods of agreement from the group and a strong 'yeah!' from Cara. The laughter that followed showed how the younger participants felt that this image was very misguided, inaccurate and humorous. In their eyes, not *all* teenagers are 'gangsters'. The younger participants actively resisted the image of younger people as disrespectful and vulnerable to crime, through participation and through their talk of themselves and others. This resistance is communicated by Natalie, the eldest and most vocal of the younger participants:

N: Younger people haven't got as much respect for older people. I know that'll sound rich coming from us sitting here doing this project now but there is a few... you do get a lot of people now that have got no respect whatsoever and some older people might find that threatening. And I know there is some cases in Stoke-on-Trent where older people are actually scared when younger ones come out of school but I think like sometimes, like, say like Kate she's doing this, it could be anything, just like by talking to someone it makes a bit difference to their day. So I do think that there are some that actually care but others who aren't bothered cause it's not cool. (YP1, 25)

The quote suggested that Natalie felt that the younger participants within the OAYSES project (and therefore likely also those who engage in activities with older people) are 'not like the others', an exception to the rule and that younger people are otherwise disrespectful towards older people. In further suggesting that older people are scared of younger people, she illustrated an intergenerational relationship between disrespectful

younger people and older people who are scared of them. Natalie proposed that this is a causal relationship where older people are scared because of the 'younger ones' coming out of school. The younger participants also avoided the use of pronouns and instead referred to 'younger people' rather than 'we' or 'I', in the same way that the older participants referred to 'older people' rather than 'we' or 'I'. Through these assertions, participants contributed to a sense of *us* as active younger people engaged in the community and respectful of older people versus *them* – the younger people who disrespect older people. The sense from the initial focus groups was that the younger participants anticipated an opportunity to show older people that they were 'not like the others'.

The older participants similarly expressed resistance to negative images of old age and appeared to wish to demonstrate to the younger participants that older people are not all scared and vulnerable. During the initial focus group the older participants were quick to recount their personal experiences of being treated as vulnerable and dependent:

"Sometimes, being an older person people treat you either as though you're not there or you know they don't give you credit for being as knowledgeable or as capable as you are. They don't think you can do things properly and then they come in and talk to you as if you're deaf." (OP1, 3)

This response was in relation to the very first question posed to the group "What is it like for older people living here?". The immediate response from the group was one in

reference to how others treat or imagine older people. The comments evoked a social representation of older people as vulnerable, an image which is resisted both in talk and in the act of participation in the OAYSES project. In among these comments were references to older people as knowledgeable and capable but this is overshadowed by the idea of older people as vulnerable which this group experienced as dominant.

7.7.2 Action as empowering

For both groups, the decision to participant in the OAYSES project was seen as an act of defiance to social representations of old and young as vulnerable. Engagement in the project sessions bought new practical and symbolic challenges which when overcome, led to the empowerment of project participants. Through participation in intergenerational conversations and activities with active others, a space was opened up within which to challenges the notion the others as vulnerable.

7.7.2.1 The role of inclusive spaces in fostering action and empowerment

Having spent many months attempting to engage a school in the OAYSES project, every effort was made to ensure that the school environment (from local access to the community room and seating arrangements) was welcoming and inclusive for the older participants. Much logistical effort was often required to get the project participants from their homes and safely into the school community room week on week.

The physicality of the project space had an impact on participant engagement. Being in an unfamiliar environment or one associated with bad experiences was a barrier for one older participant, Christine. Having not had children or grandchildren of her own, Christine had not visited a school in almost fifty years. Her apprehension was noticeable during the initial two sessions by the facilitators, researcher and also the students as the following quote from their follow-up focus group shows. The younger people explained how they noticed Christine's anxiety during the sessions and changed seating arrangements to try to help her to feel more included:

M: You could tell Christine was scared because she was sat with me and Gemma and she said "I don't like school even though I've never been in one for ages".

N: I think that, you know when everyone moved tables 'cause people were going early, and she was on that table and on her own so we told her to come on our table and I think you could tell by her face, she was happy that she knew she was wanted somewhere. Cause I think if it wasn't for - I can't remember was it you who was sitting on the table with me? - for us saying come on sit on the table with us, she'd have just sat there by herself. I think with Christine she won't speak out.

M: 'Cause she used to get bullied for her dyslexia didn't she. (YP2, 103-105)

The scene described here took place during the fifth session. The younger participants demonstrated an awareness of their capacity to ensure the community room is an inclusive space. Despite her initial anxieties, Christine attended every project session and her confidence seemed to build throughout. The facilitators in their follow-up interview also raised the subject of Christine's school anxieties. For the facilitators, the project appeared to be one that allowed Christine to confront and alleviate fears and anxieties associated with her own school days:

T: Christine fed back that in the very first session, or prior to going into that very first session she was quite apprehensive, quite anxious and a little bit not sure about how this was going to go, because of her experience of past schooling so [the project] has helped her to completely change her perspective.

Z: It's healing isn't it for her almost.

T: Yeah! It almost is.

Z: Because she had a really difficult time at school.

F: Yeah you could see that.

Z: Yeah and the fact that it was in a school for her was almost a barrier. And the fact that she could be hand held into that and make it comfortable for her, in fact she was shining at the end wasn't she! (F2, 24-29)

Christine both confronted her fear of schools and of teachers and was reassured that schools are very different to what she experienced herself. Christine's experience illustrates the psycho-social impact of community participation for older people. The experience of overcoming a lifelong fear will likely have been an empowering one which had a benefit on Christine's self-efficacy and confidence.

A different challenge to project participation was faced by another older participant. Prior to the start of the third session, Martin got involved in a dispute with his taxi driver upon arrival at the school. This was later commented upon by the school reception staff who had observed the dispute. The following extract from the researcher diary describes my own account of this:

At about 2.20pm Martin arrived and was heard arguing loudly outside of reception with his taxi driver. I quickly intervened and settled the dispute over taxi fares. Though this was resolved quickly, it had clearly attracted attention from the reception staff who seemed anxious to have such arguments taking place on the school grounds while lessons were on-going. One receptionist began asking questions about DBS clearance, how many of us are attending and where from. Martin appeared to recover from the incident quickly and made a few jokes after settling in the reception area but even when Helen arrived a few minutes later and had signed in, I could see that Martin was still angry and distressed by the situation. I tried to involve

him in the conversation with the other older participants and distract him as I was concerned it would ruin his enjoyment of the session.

A meeting was taking place today in the community room so me, Martin and Helen were resigned to the reception for almost half an hour while the meeting finished. I felt there was a little tension between ourselves and the reception staff. (RD, 98-100)

Martin's commitment to the project despite dependence upon taxis, was admirable. Though an isolated incident, this illustrated a broader concern with inclusivity, confidence and the problem of the use of age-segregated spaces. Furthermore, the comments made by the reception staff illustrated the concern raised when older adults who are unfamiliar to the school fall into disputes on school premises. This scene is perhaps illustrative of social norms around school premises. Schools, like other institutions, are expected to be orderly and controlled environments subject to formal rules as well as social norms and etiquette (Hagastad, 2006). This scene reinforced both the idea that age-segregated spaces are a barrier to the inclusivity of the project and also that when such barriers are overcome, participants are likely to feel empowered.

The project sessions taking place after school hours and in a community room rather than a classroom, may have helped to engage and empower the younger participants. At this point there was a clear need to consider how the school environment was represented by the younger people. As a place of discipline, structure and formality the school may have hindered students' engagement and subsequent empowerment. The nature of the

environment was not raised by them during the sessions however, being able to share food and drink with the older participants was commented upon. The refreshments were modest and consisted of tea, coffee, water and a small selection of cakes and biscuits. They did however add to enjoyment and form a regular intergenerational topic of conversation and debate (which cakes were in fact the best). The drawings and comments in Figures 7.2 and 7.3 demonstrate some of the significance of the refreshments for the younger participants:

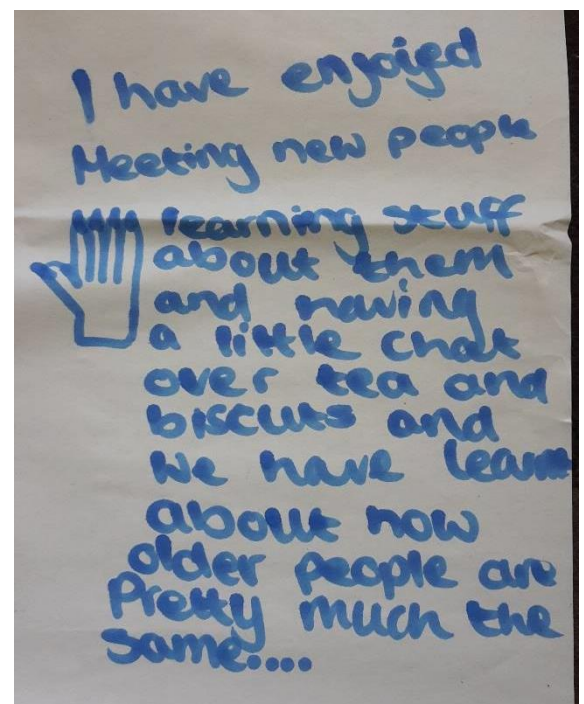
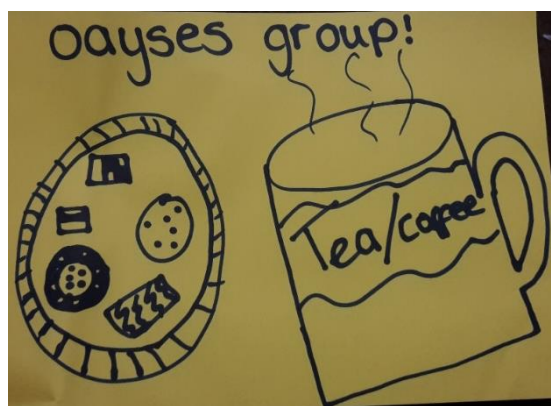


Figure 7.2 (left): Drawing by younger participant

Figure 7.3 (right): Tablecloth comment by younger participant

Without this simple addition to the sessions, without refreshments, the physical space may have easily felt much more sterile and uninviting. The food and drink helped to

stimulate intergenerational conversations, create a welcoming environment and highlight similarities rather than differences between the groups of participants.

These tools encouraged engagement and participation throughout the project, demonstrating that an inclusive physical environment needs to be considered in all aspects of planning, from the geographical location of the project and the nature of the hosting institution to the physical arrangement of the project room. Attention to the physical accessibility of intergenerational project spaces has been discussed in the IP literature, particularly from a planning and built environment perspective. Kaplan and Haider (2015) defined ‘intergenerational designs’ as those which allow people of different generations to both occupy the same space as well as meaningfully engage within it. Whilst this might be the ideal, the majority of IP has taken place within schools, retirement communities, hospitals or other community settings (Biggs and Lowenstein, 2011). Any empowerment of project participants is dependent upon them firstly being willing and able to engage.

Physical engagement and accessibility aside, the project was able to foster spaces within which non-familial older and younger people were granted license to converse, and build relationships. The project worked through creating space where intergenerational conversation was encouraged and accepted. Zeph, a project facilitator talked about how such spaces are rarely available:

Z: ...there's a lot that you can do to change people's perceptions of young and old and I think that will help in terms of thinking of social isolation. My son will not go into his neighbour who is elderly cause he will say "well, what am I going to talk about?". But actually, if projects like OAYSES were the norm, he would know that he could go in and talk about his ipad or you know talk about her knitting and that would be OK. So for me, they are a flagship for what's to come I think, if we're going to bring the community together, young and old and intergenerational. (F2, 14)

Zeph in her follow-up interview suggested that it is social norms around intergenerational interaction that prevented her son from spending time with his neighbour rather than a lack of physical opportunity. She recognised that IP creates a space which resists those norms. When attempting to identify the processes within IP, the data here suggest that inclusive spaces are key to fostering empowerment. The present findings add to the discussion around the strengths and challenges of facilitating IP in institutional spaces. For the older participants in this project in particular, inclusivity within the physical environment was important throughout. Evaluations of intergenerational practice suggested that identifying mutually accessible spaces, co-operation and the building of trust are required in order to achieve success (Sanchez, 2007). This adds to this body of literature by offering richer insights into the ability of the physical and symbolic environment to both help and hinder the development of intergenerational relationships within a project.

In terms of the contact literature, what this analysis suggests that contact is indeed too reductionist a concept with which to attribute any change resulting from IP. Reaching the point at which older and younger participants shared food, conversation and memories involved a series of processes and the overcoming of challenges. To reduce the processes involved in IP to contact alone would be to neglect the role of facilitating inclusive spaces and all that that entailed (e.g. overcoming fears, resistance to social norms, engagement and empowerment) at least within the OAYSES project.

7.7.2.2 Challenging representations of others as vulnerable

An earlier section evidenced how participation in the OAYSES project was seen as a means of representing *us* as active and *them* as vulnerable. During the course of the project it was through participation that these images were reinforced and space was created within which to challenge the image of others as vulnerable. What emerged (from the focus groups, researcher diary and creative work in particular) was a theme of the project participants as being 'not like the others' and in doing so, redefine what was meant by *us* and *them*. Subsequently both older and younger participants viewed the intergenerational project group as an active *us* unlike *them* (vulnerable older and younger people).

The following extract shows an example of where the younger participants began to think more critically about the social representation of older people as vulnerable:

C: I saw old people [laughs] oh no, that came out wrong! I mean I saw 'pensioners' in a different way. Instead of being like scared and stuff like out in public when there's kids around, I saw 'em be happy. (YP2, 26)

Cara appeared to be very conscious of the language she used to describe the older participants. Correcting herself when she felt that 'old people' was perhaps inappropriate to use. It is evident that the younger participants were at least consciously challenging the social representation of older people as vulnerable and were able to do this through drawing upon their experiences with older people as 'happy' and active.

This challenge to negative social representations of older people was evident throughout the project, in the focus group talk and also in the creative work of the participants. During the third project session, the group were invited to draw images of older people and in small groups drew three different images. Figure 7.4. shows an image drawn by Cara, Brittany and Helen and depicts a caring and active older person who is interested in family, Facebook and animals. The younger participants in this group were quick to state that this was an image of Helen and may indicate the younger participants' initial attempts to construct a more positive representation of older people. The images of older people drawn by other groups were all of generic older people and these included more of the negative associations that arose in the focus groups (Appendix R).

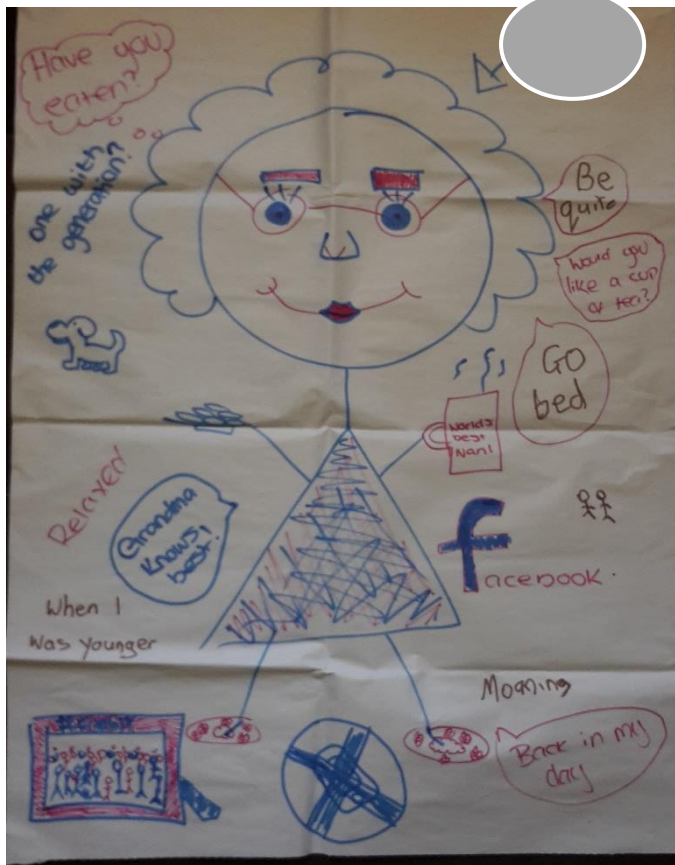


Figure 7.4. An older person drawn by a small group of older and younger participants during the third project session

The image of the older person revealed a number of shared ideas about older people objectified. Objectification allows previously unfamiliar or contradictory knowledge to be incorporated and is evident in the personification of more abstract ideas (Markova, 2007). Objectifying Helen in this way and personifying the more abstract qualities which contribute to an image of older people as active, may have helped the younger participants to make sense of older people as active.

There was evidence of the younger participants beginning to consciously engage with the negative social representations of older people they drew upon in the initial focus group and there were attempts to make sense of older people as active rather than vulnerable. The image of older people as vulnerable prevailed during the follow up focus group, perhaps unsurprisingly considering that social representations are circulated and perpetuated through communication and culture and have a degree of stability (Markova, 2007). The following extract from the follow up focus group illustrates a consistency in the younger participants' image of older people as vulnerable. In this extract Megan makes a comment about older people being scared and intimidated by younger people:

F: OK. What do you think it's like being an older person in Stoke and have those images or ideas changed?

C: A little bit.

M: Yeah I think.

N: I think they're still scared to live around here.

M: There's quite a bunch of kids who go around and think they are 'hard'.

And they go around in groups and that and terrorise. I mean I've had a group of little kids come up to me and start gobbing off at me so I don't know what they are like with older people.

C: Even the other day I had a little kid throw a rock at me! (YP2, 145-150)

Here it appeared that the image of young people as in groups 'terrorising' helped to circulate and justify the image of older people as vulnerable. Clearly that image of older as vulnerable remained but it seems that by engaging with active older people, opportunities to challenge and think critically about that representation were fostered. The following extract, also from the follow-up focus group with the younger participants sheds further light on the ways in which the younger people began to challenge those negative representations:

N: Well I still stick to what I say because you don't know people until you meet them. You can't say oh all old people are miserable because that's how you see them, you can't say that. 'Cause everyone has a bad day, look at me when I had toothache. So, I don't think, overall, you can't judge people until... well you can't judge em when you know em but people are unique so I just don't know how to answer that question.

C: I think of Helen now when you say older people

F: Do you?

C: yeah [laughs]

M: I think of bingo

B: Helen and tea

C: Just sitting and laughing with her. (YP2, 81-89)

While Natalie made efforts to resist negative representations of older people by drawing upon similarities between older and younger people – ‘everyone has a bad day’, for Cara and Brittany, a positive representation of older people was objectified and personified in one of the older participants with whom they appeared to strongly connect with.

The shared sense of *us* as active versus *them* as vulnerable initially related to the younger participants versus other younger people subsequently broadened to mean *us* as project participants versus *them* as other younger and other older people.

Extracts from the follow-up focus group highlighted that the younger participants were likewise successful in showing that they were ‘not like the others’. The project experience helped to challenge some of the negative ideas about younger people, in particular, that young people are uncaring and ill-behaved. Participation in the project led older participants to think more critically about information in the media regarding the school at which the project took place, as clear from Martin’s comments below:

M: It’s nice to know that in the city you’ve got people who are so good. And alright we’ve only been in one school but to see the teachers and how good they are, because they’re the people who could make or break your children. And I thought I saw something in the Sentinel about [the school], so it makes you wonder, when these people rate a school, what are they rating it on and are they rating it on the right things. (OP2, 221)

In a similar way to how the younger participants demonstrated more critical communication about the image of older people as vulnerable, the older participants engaged in a more critical discussion about the image of younger people as disrespectful, an image that was dominant and unchallenged in the initial focus group. Martin suggested that the younger people in the intergenerational project did not fit with their existing understanding. He subsequently referred to a bad report of the school which he had read in the local newspaper and appears to blame invalid school evaluations for circulating unfounded negative images of younger people. This praising of the participating school and critiquing of the media may have allowed this participant to communicate the idea of younger people as good rather than bad and active, caring and respectful rather than 'naughty'. Firstly, Martin recognised that the younger participants did not fit his image of young people as disrespectful and secondly, he questioned the validity of a report he has read about the school. That negative image is evidently still present, as he implicitly suggests that others in the city may not be so good and reminded the group that they have only visited one school. Similar attempts to resist dominant negative images of younger people are seen when participants are asked about the difficult elements of the project. In the extract below, an older participant is challenging the dominant representation of younger people as uncaring:

M: I wouldn't say I found any of it difficult, the first session was hard in that you didn't know what to expect, you didn't know what kinds of people you were going to talk to and you didn't know what the students would be like and so that was the hardest part and then after the first one, same as the

lady said, yeah you've enjoyed it because the girls have got such a nice personality and they were willing to talk to you and they didn't do anything silly or nothing erm derogatory so it was nice to talk to them and I can't imagine my grandchildren talking like that, (OP2, 210)

By stating that he enjoyed it because the younger participants 'were' willing to talk and 'didn't' do anything silly, Martin implicitly revealed shared expectations of the younger participants. He perhaps expected that young people *were* unwilling to talk and would do things which *were* silly. These characteristics fit with the dominant representation of younger people as disrespectful and vulnerable to bad behaviour. Martin ended by saying that he couldn't imagine his grandchildren acting in the same way as the younger project participants. Though Martin was making a positive comment about how much he enjoyed the company of the younger participants, he did so by making reference to how different they were from other young people including his grandchildren. Both extracts above are apt examples of the older participants' beginning to challenge negative representations of younger people.

In line with social representations theory, neither generation simply dismissed the dominant negative social representations of older and younger people following participation in the intergenerational project. Instead both generations communicated resistance to those negative social representations through different means, in ways which made sense in that particular context whether through personification of positive attributes of older people or attributing negative social representations of younger

people to invalid media reports. Though only consisting of six sessions, participation in the intergenerational project appeared to foster some resistance to social representations of older and younger people as vulnerable. These changes in participant understandings are much more modest than the changes suggested from a large number of IP projects where attitudes towards older and younger people are said to improve (Jarrot, 2011). The finding that representations of others remain largely unchanged, contradicts the theory that intergenerational contact improves general attitudes towards older and younger people and suggests that some findings from contact studies may have been inappropriately generalised.

7.7.3 Beyond attitude change: friendship, community and the psycho-social benefits of the project

Inclusive spaces fostered engagement, empowerment and a space within which to resist negative representations of others. Too often IP reports take attitude change as the main benefit of a project and use contact theory to support their findings. The analysis here suggested that attitude change was not evident as a result of the project, instead what was evident and most prominent as a result of the OAYSES pilot was the development of friendships and reflections on the meaning and value of community. The outcomes of this project suggested therefore that this IP neither changed attitudes nor provided avenues for the ambitious community-led social change advocated by the 'activist' approach within the IP literature. What was achieved was social change at micro and meso-levels;

the empowerment of older and younger people and an opportunity to engage in the community and build friendships.

7.7.3.1 Friendship and community

Outcomes highlighted by the participants, facilitators and in my own research diary were participants' increased social connections in the form of new friendships and increased connections with the community. This was anticipated to be a feature of the data however the extent to which new friendships featured was interesting and surprising. Rarely if at all, did participants discuss the nature of activities, skills that were developed or any other aims and outcomes of the project. Participants spoke of how they valued the company of other older and younger people as well as the intergenerational company. One older participant, Joan, who joined the project half way through, summed up the value of the project for her in two small evaluative notes left on the paper tablecloths during the final session (see Figures 7.5 and 7.6):

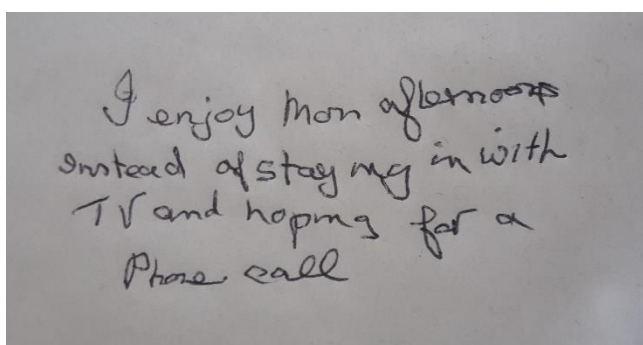


Figure 7.5. Evaluative comment left by and older participant

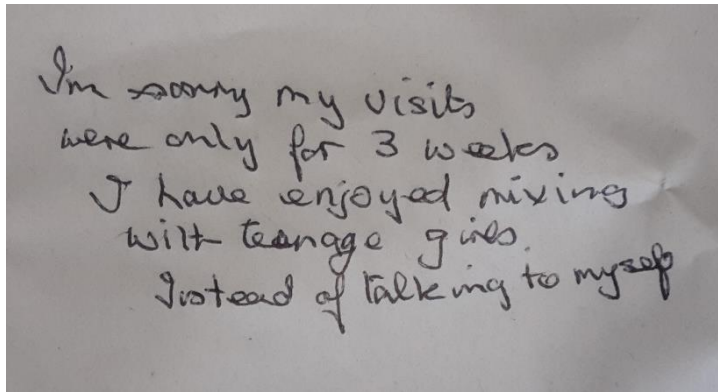


Figure 7.6. Evaluative comment left by an older participant

In these brief notes, Joan was able to express what was most enjoyed about the project. She expressed not only what was enjoyed but why this was of value. In both notes, the participant wished to highlight not only what was enjoyed but what the alternative to participation in the project would be. Joan was evidently keen to communicate the social isolation experienced and the OAYSES project did to help combat this.

The importance of developing friendships was further highlighted in the follow up focus group with the older participants that occurred some weeks after the final project session and following the group trip to see the school production. The older participants clearly valued the opportunity to engage in conversations with the younger participants:

"M: Well the best bit for me was talking to the children and seeing how good they were and how they handled situations. I think it's really good."

F: I feel the same duck. I got a lot out of it and I sat there and they listened.

They weren't making fun of you or anything like that, they were genuinely wanting to know about what things were like when you were growing up."

(OP2, 180, 182)

Engaging in conversation with the younger participants and the opportunity to both talk and be listened to, were highly valued. Having younger people simply present throughout the project could arguably have had less value to the older people. For these participants, the quality of the interactions with the younger participants was the source of enjoyment. Implicit in the discussion, particularly in the quote above is a sense of pleasant surprise at how receptive the younger participants were to engaging in conversation. This reflects the dominant negative images of younger people as uncaring and rude. The opportunity to connect not only with other older adults but with those who they imagined would be unreceptive to engaging in conversation, had an impact on the participants. The older participants were equally keen to express their enjoyment of meeting, socialising and making friends with the other older participants:

"K: What about the difficult parts?

F: Nothing, I liked everything duck. I liked everything, I was looking forward to it and I couldn't wait to come. I made nice friends and you know I was looking forward to seeing them as well as the kids. It's lovely." (OP2, 201-202)

During the follow-up interviews, one of the facilitators also offered a sense that the project had a lasting impact on the older participants:

Z: "And I've noticed on a few of the notes for the clients that they've actually been talking about it to their volunteers." (F2, 31)

The facilitators who worked daily with lonely and isolated older people, praised the younger participants for their involvement in the project, perhaps underestimating the benefit of the project to them:

T: No, what stands out to me is just Martin. Martin just chatting and just really enjoying the moment to talk to other people and also the young people, in particular, I think it was Natalie, really being so patient and so kind, to listen and keep on listening and keep on listening and keep on listening!... (F2, 7)

Just as the older participants appeared pleasantly surprised at how receptive the younger participants were to engaging in conversation, Tom appeared pleasantly surprised at the younger people's patience and active listening. I felt this judgement may have reflected the facilitator's expertise in working with older adults rather than younger people, something witnessed in previous interviews with those working with older people (see Chapter 6). Tom may have been less aware of what the younger participants were gaining from participation and potentially saw the project (and IP more generally) as something *for* older people. None the less he was confident that the older participants benefited

greatly from the opportunity to build friendships with each other and with the younger people.

Though the younger participants were generally less forthcoming in their talk of the benefits of the project for them, the creative data revealed how they clearly valued the opportunity to form new friendships with older people. Figure 7.7 shows an Easter card created by a younger participant for an older participant during the final project session in which participants were given no structured activities:



Figure 7.7. Easter card created during the final session by a younger participant for an older participant

Despite a mixture of disinterest and hesitance in the initial sessions regarding the production of a community mural or collaborative piece of art, during the final session, many of the participants created and shared some form of creative work such as this Easter card (Figure 7.4). Others created beaded jewellery with Helen as they had in

previous sessions. The closure of the project appeared to bring with it a desire to create lasting memories and offer something to the people with whom connections had been made. It is the absence of comments about the activities participated in and about the skills shared that suggested just how valuable the social aspects were to the younger participants. The focus is overwhelmingly on the enjoyment of meeting and connecting with others.

During the follow-up focus group discussion with the younger participants, after some encouragement from the others, students suggested that they found the project interesting, memorable and that they made new friends:

F: So how did you find [the project]?

M: It was good.

B: Interesting

C: Interesting

C: The food was nice [laughs]

F: The food was nice. Good good.

B: So was the coffee

N: It was memorable

C: So were the people!

B: It was an experience

M: We made new friends

B: We met Helen! (YP2, 1-12)

Two of the younger participants in particular appeared to form a strong connection with older participant Helen. The establishing of these intergenerational connections were the highlights of the project for all younger participants, an observation which may help in explaining IP's claim to increase positive attitudes towards older people. The formation of intergenerational friendships is undoubtedly a positive outcome and it is easy to see how such an outcome could be skewed, generalised or invalidly captured through measures of attitude change towards older people.

When the nature of the activities arose in discussion, Natalie emphasised how these were of less importance to her than the social aspects of the project:

F: So that [activity] was interesting?

N: I don't know, we [Martin and I] didn't do that, we were too busy talking.

(YP2 19-20)

Likewise the absence of discussion about activities that had appeared to engage the younger participants at the time, in favour of comments about the social nature of the project showed that connecting with others was something of greater value.

The social benefits of IP (particularly for older people) have been a celebrated benefit of the practice (Granville, 2002). Friendship was one of three key outcomes (along with increased understanding and enjoyment) for all participants of IP highlighted in Springate, Martin and Atkinson's (2008) systematic review. Social outcomes such as feeling connected to others have been frequently hailed as being among the more elusive 'soft' outcomes which are more difficult to measure and operationalise (Granville, 2002). As a result there has been a resistance to exploring the nature of these benefits (Bernard & Ellis, 2004). The great value placed on the opportunity to make friends with older and younger people became clearer when considered in context. In a symbolic sense, this project granted license for younger people to befriend older people and vice versa in a city where, much like other cities, social norms prevent older people and younger people from forming friendships.

The younger participants also discussed and were observed to create drawings and doodles to express the value of the social benefits of the project. This was not an anticipated finding as the more celebrated outcomes for younger people involved in IP tend to be changes in attitudes towards older people or the development of new skills and confidence. It is not that the project did not facilitate the development of new skills or build confidence. Two younger participants did, for example, spent several sessions creating beaded jewellery and charms guided by an older participant though in discussions of what they felt they gained from the project, talk turned only towards the social aspects.

Social connectedness and friendship are frequent points of discussion in the IP literature, mostly in relation to loneliness and isolation faced by many older communities (e.g., Melville, 2013; Statham, 2012; Miles, 2014). Rarer are discussions of the psycho-social benefits of IP for younger people. Feelings of social exclusion may have been underestimated among younger people within the IP literature, possibly due to research and evaluation (particularly within social psychology) having a narrower focus on younger people's attitudes and skills building rather than social inclusion (Springate, Atkinson & Martin, 2008). Shucksmith (2004) suggested that the conditions of late modernity, namely instability in employment, particularly impacts younger people in rural areas and can lead to feelings of social exclusion. The more frequently cited aims and outcomes for younger people according to Springate, Atkinson & Martin's (2008) systematic review are the learning of new skills and increases in self-esteem. The data here suggested that for these younger participants the opportunity to meet, engage with and make friends with older people, was the most valuable outcome.

7.7.3.2 Community: past and present

As well as forming friendships, the participants appeared to use the project space and time to talk of the local community both past (through reminiscing and reflecting) and present. Both generations spoke of present day communities in a more negative light and past communities in a more positive light. Little discussion took place of the future fate of the community or avenues for positive social change, even when prompted by an activity designed to evoke images of a positive future. It is within this finding that the extent of

social change possible through this IP is most evident. Though the project granted personal and social benefits and micro and some meso-level social change, anything broader or deeper than this was beyond the reach of the project.

In the following extract Martin is telling one of several detailed anecdotes about community life in the 1950s:

M: There's a bit about togetherness, me mum lived in the same house from more or less from when it was built until she died and the next door neighbour, I can't remember when they came but it'll be sometime mid-50s but it used to be knock knock knock on the wall and it was whatever they wanted and talking over the back fence. When one of the first coloured families came to live in Stoke-on-Trent, came to live by Station Road Trentham and we thought it was great. They talked to everyone and they talked to everybody yet today you know there's this problem with coloured people. But you know they're saying about the buses. As soon as, if you were sat down, if you were an adult and there was someone with a baby you know, you'd give your seat automatically, automatic. But attitudes seem to have changed quite a lot. It's a mean, mean world today, grab everything I can for myself and nobody else matters. (OP1, 33)

Martin spoke at lengths to describe a time where a sense of community was strong and depicted by neighbourliness, a lack of racial prejudice and respect for others. He referred

to the present as a selfish time in a “mean, mean world”. Such romanticising of the past has been found to be common among older communities. McKibbin (1998) retrospectively researched working-class neighbourhoods in the 1950s and described relationships with neighbours as more complicated. A more romantic view of community in the past has been suggested to foster a sense of stability (Phillipson, 2007).

Romanticised or not, this talk served to communicate the idea that ‘things were good for us. During the focus group I attempted to steer such lengthy anecdotes back towards the focus group schedule, in attempt to open up discussion around some other topics I’d wanted to explore, though many similar stories continued to break out into the discussion. It was only during the transcription process that I gained a sense that such reminiscing, even at the expense of discussion of how life is now, was a source of enjoyment. During such discussions, the nods and whispers of agreement around the room demonstrated that re-telling the past was important to these participants and was evidence of them representing a community which they felt has since been lost. For these older people, a sense of community was felt in the past but was no longer present.

Community was evidently an important aspect of daily life as it was frequent in the discussions. In a review of key sociological studies of British communities conducting from the 1940s onwards, Phillipson (2007) highlighted how there appeared to be a greater overall sense of neighbourliness. Alienation, mistrust and a fear of crime were however also found to be strong elements of community life. Within a social representations framework, what is important is not the accuracy of the idea that times

were once good and have since turned bad, in an objective sense, but rather the nature of this representation, its origins, purpose and consequences for those in the city.

These older participants appeared to represent community in a very similar way in the follow-up focus group, a reflection of the scale of social change achieved through the OAYSES pilot. Though describing the intergenerational project as an opportunity to connect with others, it was understandably not enough to challenge their dominant negative representations of community life in the present day.

The younger participants also drew upon the same negative representations of community and more surprisingly they also referred to a time when things were better:

N: I think it's harder for people our age because there's nothing to do anymore. Whereas when older people were younger, a lot of them were more out with the boys playing football, the girls were mainly watching the boys play football. I know some of us still do now but I think there's less opportunities now.

K: Yeah there used to be a lot of parks and everything where you could just sit down and chill and there used to be like lots of grass where you could just sit down on and it's just like mud now cause it's all been trampled on.

F: So what kinda stuff can you do then, when you wanna do stuff?

K: Just walk around or go Hanley, go to the Potteries Centre. (YP1, 8-10)

One younger participant referred to a time when 'older people were younger', complementing the 'back in our day' style comments and stories made by the older participants. They referred to a lack of opportunities to socialise and a lack of places to go, compared to how things once were. For the older participants, the images of community as positive and cohesive are assumed to be drawn either from their own memories or those of others who experienced these particular moments in the past first-hand. Discovering that these younger participants aged just 14 to 16 years also shared this representation of community demonstrates that this is an image circulated among both generations. The knowledge that the younger participants clearly also share this representation of community as once good and turned bad, illustrates the widespread social acceptance of the idea. The younger participants, having not experienced first-hand 'when older people were younger', likely learned such social knowledge over time through family, exposure to the wider community and through the media.

In the fourth session some activities about Stoke-on-Trent aimed to spark discussions about the good, the bad and also possible avenues for change within the city. The participants were informed that their thoughts would be anonymously fed back to the city council. The younger participants were less engaged than the older participants and had less to say about the nature of the community, perhaps not having the confidence to voice their thoughts. This extract is from the researcher diary following that session:

Some of the younger people appeared to be less engaged in the activities today. Two girls commented that they had had a 'difficult day at school'. I

felt that the task really stimulated the minds of the older people and really brought them together as a group, they collectively reflected and reminisced about how the city used to be. I feel that this helped the pairs of older people connect and share stories but it altered the intergenerational dynamic somewhat. More often than not the older participants would draw upon what the city used to be like and describe this to the younger people. It appeared (as an observer) that the younger people felt that they had less to contribute, perhaps because it was assumed that everybody knows what the city is like today. There appeared to be a consensus that "Stoke isn't as good anymore" and a sense of romanticising the past was definitely evident. (RD, 154)

These activities did not spark as much intergenerational discussion as others. The older participants may have dominated here, focusing on how things in their understanding were much better in the past. What these activities demonstrated was that the older participants held a strong image of how Stoke-on-Trent once was and a consensus that the city has deteriorated since. This social representation of the city may serve to promote a sense of cohesion among the older participants. Despite less engagement during these activities, the younger participants demonstrated in the focus groups that they share this representation of the city as once good and turned bad.

Figure 7.8 shows the participants' notes in response to "What makes Stoke-on-Trent a tough place to be young or old?". Many references are made to 'now a days' or how things are 'not as...' as they once were.

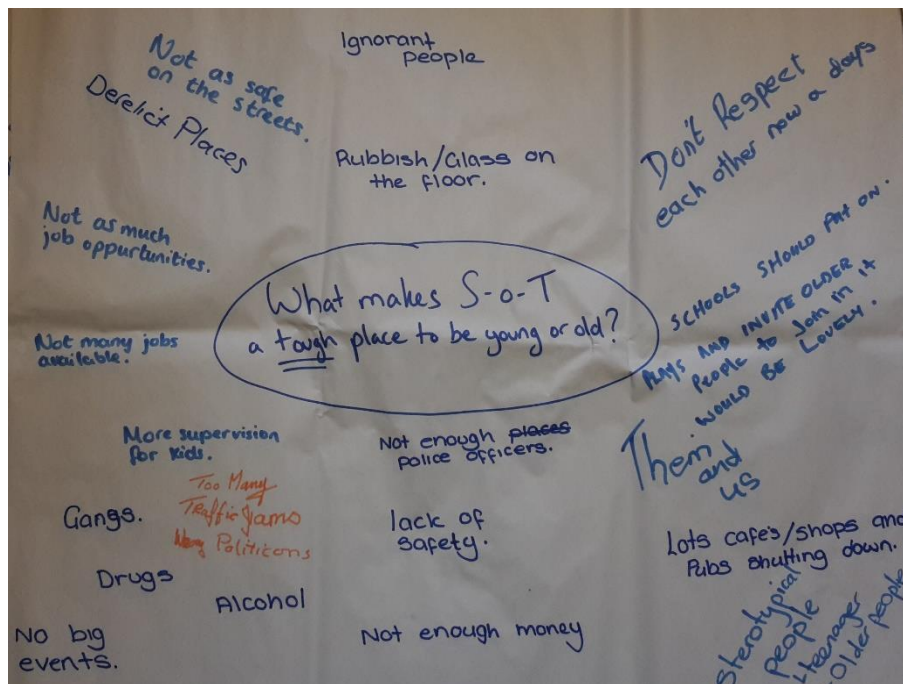


Figure 7.8. Photograph of whole group responses to 'What makes Stoke-on-Trent a tough place to be young or old?'.

Figure 7.5 shows how a more positive representation of the city can be seen in the past as references to the negative aspects of the present are sometimes contrasted with how things once were. The task revealed that some of the participants' key concerns with the community revolved around a lack of safety, lack of job opportunities, derelict and closed down buildings and shops and disrespectful people. The majority of these points concern the disadvantage experienced by both younger and older participants.

The negative representations of the present day community may have been a barrier to engagement in the creation of a community mural. Participants evidently felt disadvantaged and this may have contributed to a sense that any wider-reaching positive social change was out of the participants' control. Empowerment can increase through community participation (Christens, 2012) however this six week project may not have allowed enough time to facilitate this. Disempowered and disadvantaged communities may require a greater investment in terms of time and resources in order for participants to build the confidence to voice their concerns through creative means. A community mural or piece of community art may have offered a space to reflect negative thoughts, re-imagine the community in more positive ways or draw attention to the causes of health and social inequalities (Murray & Tilley, 2006). The lack of interest expressed and eventual vote against creating a mural may have been a result of many factors.

As a facilitator of the project, this lack of enthusiasm for community arts was challenging. In the later sessions I drew upon asset-based approaches (Christens, 2012) in attempt to foster a focus on strengths of present day communities and what could be achieved. In addition to the "What makes Stoke-on-Trent a great/tough place to be old/young?" discussion, I proposed the question of "What would your perfect Stoke-on-Trent look like?". Even though the majority of discussions were characterised by reminiscing, one older participant did express a wish for older people to receive invitations to school plays and productions. After discussions with the school support staff all older participants received free tickets to attend the upcoming spring school production. A simple gesture

from the school and modest piece of action which was highly valued by the three older project participants who were able to attend.

The OAYSES project was unable to address the majority of the macro and meso-level challenges (e.g. economic decline and a disrespect between generations) recognised by participants in the project sessions. It was however able to facilitate spaces within which friendships could be fostered and ideas around community expressed. On a micro, individual level this resulted in the empowerment of project participants and greater sense of connectedness to others, on a meso or community level, the project was able to facilitate opportunities for older people to attend school performances. On the one hand such change is impressive given that the project lasted for just six weekly sessions. On the other hand, this IP took over twelve months of planning to facilitate and is typical of most IP. Consequently the scale of social change possible as a result of typical IP may often be overly ambitious.

7.7.4 Facilitator as mediator

The facilitators' role was evidently in promoting the social connections, inclusive spaces and challenges to representations of old and young as vulnerable described throughout. Facilitator here refers to the two employees from the older adults' organisation as well as my own role and reflections on this taken from the researcher diary. The facilitator role involved mediating on an organisational level between the sometimes conflicting agendas of the different stakeholders involved in the project as well as mediating on a more inter-

group level, between the different interests of the older and younger participants. On the one hand, the facilitators were employees of an organisation with responsibilities to ensure that participants were safe and provided with an opportunity to participate in planned activities. On the other hand, the facilitators from their own experiences working in front-line roles with older adults, were aware that a more informal and relaxed environment more often enabled participants to feel comfortable and take more ownership of a project. At times structure was evidently more beneficial than informality. For some, starting a session with short structured activities aimed to 'break the ice' appeared to be enough to empower the group to develop activities or spark discussions of their own. For others, too much structure or focus hindered engagement and led to a sense of the project being governed rather than facilitated:

I brought up the idea of the community mural once again however interest in this was hard to gauge. At the end of the session once Martin and most of the volunteers had left, I asked Natalie how she was finding it as I was aware that she had spent the majority of the first two sessions actively listening to Martin and his stories with little chance to talk herself. Natalie insisted that she was enjoying the sessions. I asked what she thought of the mural idea and her response was that she just liked to sit and listen to Martin really. At this point I questioned the idea of a mural if it was not going to be what the participants wanted most out of the sessions. (RD, 62)

After the initial two sessions, a balance between structure and informality appeared to be better negotiated. Figure 7.9. illustrates a more happy medium. Structured activities can be seen to be laid out. Some groups thrived off of these activities and others chose not to engage with them at all. The facilitators' role involved the careful use of structured activities to engage participants who had not yet built the confidence to pursue their own intergenerational interests.

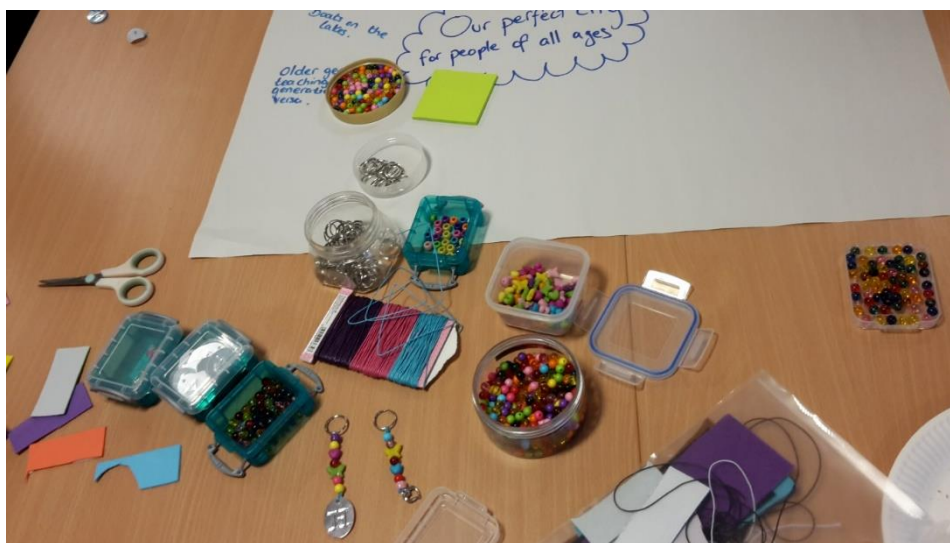


Figure 7.9. Participants abandon the structured activities in favour of exploring their own intergenerational interests

Natalie suggested that it was what the facilitators did *not* do during the session, rather than what they did that helped facilitate intergenerational conversation. Natalie saw the facilitators' role as being to simply facilitate contact between the two generations:

N: Cause you won't see many teenagers go out of their way to make conversations with older people, they're gonna go see their friends. So with them being here, so with them being here and you getting us all together, and not being given certain topics and just letting us talk about things by ourselves. ...Cause I think when you give us topics, people go quieter cause it's like I don't want to say anything because I want to respect other people's opinions and it could come across as judgemental cause you've got your own opinion, if that makes sense. (YP2, 35)

For the eldest of the younger participants, Natalie, informality was key however participant's experiences within this small group varied greatly and the facilitators needed to be attuned to this. Throughout the sessions, I played an active role in attempting to mediate a balance between structure and informality, formal activities and more organic interaction.

As well as engaging in a balancing act myself, I also observed the project facilitators working to balance structure and informality. This balancing act was not done unconsciously. Both facilitators made reference to the need to mediate between the broader aims of the project and the participants' interests at any given time during the sessions:

Z: It was interesting at first to see how the group came together and I think for us what worked well was the feedback that we kept giving each other

about maybe how the session could be ran to take into account the likes of people like Martin who might like to dominate the conversation but I think in the end...

T: Well with Martin though Zeph, I think you almost, you had to be quite assertive and you had to keep on butting in in order for someone else to have a bit of a conversation.

Z: And this is where it works very well that you've got facilitators, people that can do that so you can focus on the whole group rather than on that one individual. There was a lot of that with Martin where you'd have to physically have to stop him, but in a nice way, mid conversation.

T: Yes and you'd have to say, "So Natalie..." and just bring somebody else in. [laughs]. And don't breathe or else Martin will get back in! [laughs]. (F2, 60-63)

Tom suggested that the use of facilitators to help manage the group 'works very well' however the aim of this management was to allow each person to benefit from the session and deter any one person from dominating the group. Both facilitators here appeared to hold a consensus that their presence was important and involved managing the varying intergroup dynamics. They reflected upon a time where they had succeeded in intervening in a particular intergenerational conversation to prevent one older person

from dominating. Though they were aware that Martin and Natalie had made a connection and were easily absorbed in conversation, they saw their role as a somewhat utilitarian one, striving for the greatest enjoyment for the greatest number of participants. They made the decision to break up conversations between the pair at certain points in order to attempt to engage Martin with other younger people in the group. This act of intervention in the intergenerational conversation echoes the images of facilitator as governor which emerged in studies one and two. Here however this intervention is conducted reflectively and with the benefit of the participants in mind.

During the follow-up interviews, both facilitators expressed concerns over the longevity of the project as a format, recognising a tension between the different parties' interests:

T: Yeah but it's been a really beneficial project to the older people and I'm sure to the young people and it'll just be interesting to see if it's got a future and if it's got a future, if other schools will buy into it. (F2, 84)

The facilitators were very confident that the older participants benefited from the project and were reasonably confident that the younger participants did also. Tom referred to schools 'buying into it' reflecting here an awareness that for such projects to gain support they needed to be marketable to those supporting them. Tom suggested a solution between these competing agendas and again it involves mediating between them and striking a balance in order to satisfy all involved from the older and younger participants

through facilitators to those organisations supporting the project such as the school and older people's service:

T: I mean what you could do in future sessions, is you could set out the sessions so that you alternate between a focused session and a relaxed session, so they're getting that opportunity to relax but then you also get a focused session where you have to be quite assertive, not assertive but you have to give a clear direction. Say "we're gonna focus on A, B and C but don't forget, the next session, it's going to be a free for all" I don't know if that would work. (F2, 91)

This comment really epitomises the facilitator as mediator, a clear attempt to shape a project to suit the needs of all stakeholders. Both facilitators expressed concerns that I had not been able to 'get out the information' from the participants that was necessary for the research. The facilitators made observations about my own role in the facilitation of the project and note the flexibility of my own approach but they also appear to see this as a potential negative, possibly detracted from my own agenda:

T: It terms of the facilitation role that you played, it was good in that you were really flexible in how you did it in that you watched how people reacted and what they wanted to do. My only concern was whether, how people took it... whether that took it away from what you wanted it to achieve in terms of getting out the information? But I wasn't there at all the sessions.

Z: I think for me it will be interesting to see what you got out of it. (F2, 48-49)

The concerns expressed by Tom regarding getting enough information to evaluate the project may reflect the institutional context within which he works. In this pilot project it was not Tom's role to evaluate it, however he still expressed some concerns over whether enough 'information' had been collected. This may well reflect assumptions about what is and is not evaluation and what kinds of information can be used to monitor and evaluate. Reviews of IP have demonstrated a dominance of quantitative indicators of social change (Jarrott, 2011). Tom's concerns therefore may suggest an unease or unfamiliarity with different research and evaluation methods.

The findings here suggested that within this typical IP, the facilitators' role was not necessarily an easy one that can be prescribed and carried out unreflexively. The facilitators here felt the need to strike a balance between giving direction and acting assertively. At times the facilitators also adopted a more governing role, intervening in the social dynamics of the group when they felt that there wasn't an equal degree of engagement in conversation across the group.

7.8 Intergenerational practice in action: personal reflections

The six week intergenerational project described here was the culmination of over twelve months of planning and because of the amount of time and energy invested in the project it is important for me not to inflate what was achieved. Ultimately the project was time limited and the socio-economic and symbolic structures which impact upon the

participants' lives remain largely unchallenged. It is therefore important not to overstate the degree of social change that can occur in such a short space of time. Greenwood and Levin (2007: 7) recognise the challenge of fostering large-scale social change through action research stating "by and large, AR practitioners are democratic reformers rather than revolutionaries".

It was my hope that the facilitation of community arts would provide a further catalyst for meso-level social change, offering an opportunity to showcase the project to a wider audience and raise local awareness of community concerns. Involvement in community arts does however requires a degree of confidence in abilities. This often comes from the presence of an artist who can train participant's in particular artistic methods. Community arts projects can also take time. This six week project may not have allowed for enough confidence to be built or ownership of ideas to be taken. It is equally important to recognise what the project has achieved and from the research findings discussed, some positive micro and meso-level social change was achieved.

This study (the development of an intergenerational project) was the most personally challenging yet likewise the most rewarding study in this project as a whole. Both feelings stemming from the highly involved 'activist' nature of this study. I spent much time and energy navigating the structure of relevant organisations and institutions in order to negotiate access to two small community groups – the school students and the older volunteers and service users. This top-down approach to negotiating access was frustrating at times, as was the degree of bureaucracy and the lack of material resources

for the project however without that long-path to the development of the project, there would not be those organisational links now in place, between the school, other interested schools and the partner organisation. Cornish and Ghosh (2007) argue that participatory projects in their early stages are dependent upon the support and involvement of others and take time to gain independence from influential expert groups.

At the beginning of the chapter I outlined Stoecker's (2003) three roles of the academic in community based participatory research. Having adopted all three of these roles at different points in time and place across the development of the project I would argue that I can see the value in the more critiqued roles of initiator or collaborator as it was in adopting these roles early on in the development of this project that I was able to negotiate access to the community and develop more sustainable connections between key organisations.

7.9 Chapter summary

Through an analysis of a single case study of IP in action, the capacity of IP as a tool for social change has been illustrated. On the one hand, the complexity of contact within IP has been illustrated while on the other, the limited power of IP for a deeper and wider-reaching meso or macro level social change has been realised. This case study while demonstrating the impressive ability of IP to enhance participant wellbeing and foster inter-personal relationships even within a short space of time has also revealed the limits of IP in attempts to achieve something beyond psycho-social benefits for those

participants directly involved. The following chapter explored these findings along with those from studies one and two, together in the context of theory, practice and the implications and applications arising from this thesis.

8 Intergenerational practice and social change: contributions and conclusions

“Practical wisdom should be used to abandon any cultural, social, religious, tribal, and national beliefs of alterity altogether. This is the only way mankind will truly evolve. Segregation is a word of the past. Unity is the key to a peaceful future.”

- Suzy Kassem

8.1 Chapter overview

This final chapter concludes the thesis but summarising the key findings in relations to the research questions set. The bulk of this chapter is then reserved for a discussion of the consequences of these findings for a number of literatures; attitude change, contact theory, the potential of intergenerational practice, practice facilitation and the theory of social representations. The implications of the findings for IP development and practice in the UK are discussed. This chapter (and the thesis) concludes with some limitations of the research and final reflections.

8.2 The relationship between intergenerational practice and social change

This thesis aimed to explore the nature of the relationship between a specific community development tool known as intergenerational practice and social change. It answered

calls from Granville (2002) and Bernard and Ellis (2004) for a greater understanding of how IP works and the call from Kuehne and Melville (2014) for more critical theoretical frameworks within the study of IP. In line with critical health psychology, I argued that the dominant contact theories and individualistic measures used to understand the potential of IP are limited in their capacity to understand the social nature of social change and furthermore, mask the influence of broader social, political and economic factors. I acknowledged the potential of IP as a tool for community mobilisation and used the theory of social representations with mixed qualitative methods to examine the construction of IP in text, talk and action. In doing so, this thesis has addressed the misalignment between the community-led ethos of IP definitions and the individualist theories and methods through which IP has too often been explored.

Through three studies it has contributed to a conceptualisation of IP as a conflicted practice characterised by the push and pull of opposing social representations. These social representations of the nature of the practice and its outcomes, of the participants and of the facilitators were rooted in the themata; *individualism/collectivism* and *us/them*. As a consequence IP is understood as both a tool for individual change and as a tool for collective action. The individualist approach, I have argued here, is incompatible with a practice which aims to tackle meso-level issues such as social isolation and community cohesion. The collective action approach does on the other hand have the potential to facilitate the empowerment of old and young through the building of friendships and community cohesion.

The presence of simultaneous yet conflicting representations, or cognitive polyphasia is not unusual and has been found in other health and social phenomena for example in expert knowledge on homelessness (Renedo & Jovechelovitch, 2007), elementary school practices of inclusion and stratification (Tuval & Orr, 2009) and Chinese community members knowledge of health and illness (Jovchelovitch & Gervais, 2009). Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez (2015) in their review of cognitive polyphasia and public spheres argued that polyphasic knowledge is a basic property of sociocognitive functioning. They argued that conflicting systems of knowledge often coincide as they serve different communicative functions in different contexts or in different ways.

The growing number of guidelines to practice provided an appropriate starting point with which to explore these 'active agents' in the construction of IP. This study (see Chapter 5) answered questions of what social representations characterise IP texts and what role social representations play in the construction of IP. This is where the conflicted conceptualisations of IP (seen in Figure 8.1) first emerged. Tensions within and across IP documents indicated a cognitive polyphasia within which IP was constructed both as an expert driven intervention targeting problem individuals and as community-led collective action striving for community level change.

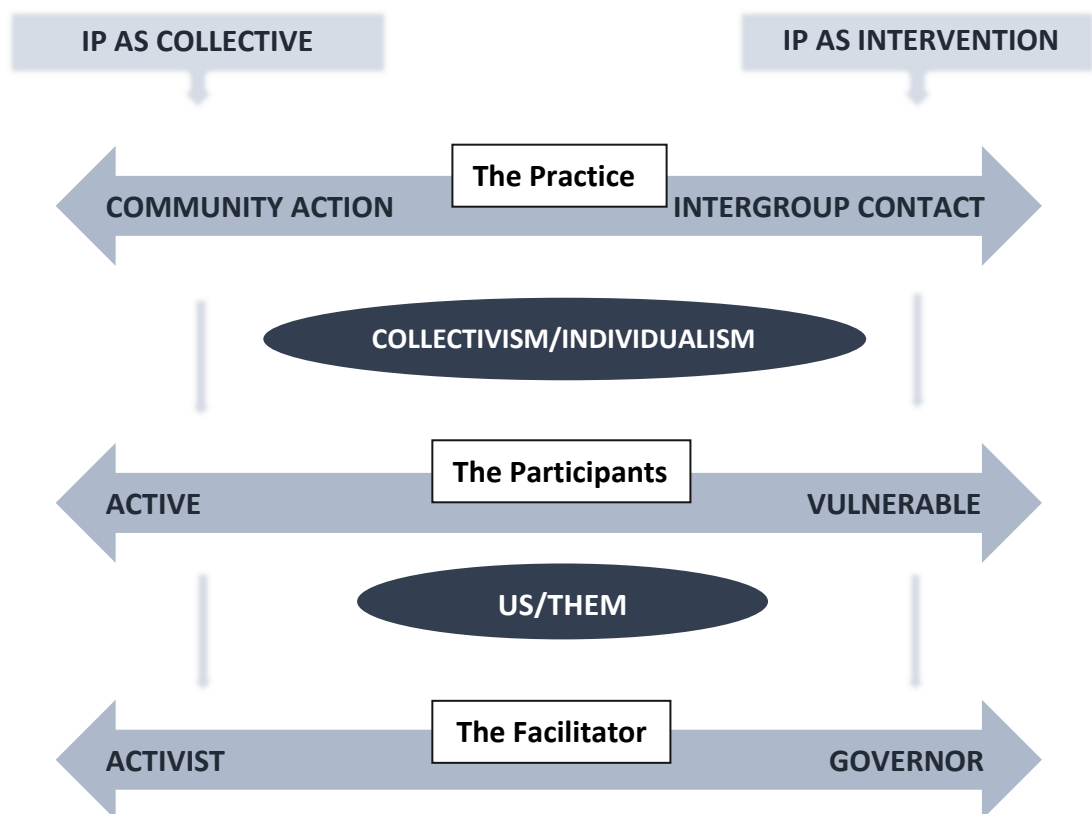


Figure 8.1. Cognitive polyphasia which is conceptualised as resulting in two approaches to IP; as intervention and as collective action.

This cognitive polyphasia was also evident in facilitators talk of IP and of communities within Stoke-on-Trent, a city where older and younger people both face a number of inequalities. Questions answered here were what social representations characterise facilitators' talk of IP? What role do social representations play in facilitators' talk of IP and those who participate in it? And what do facilitators perceive as opportunities and barriers to developing IP? Here, the thema *us/them* underpinned social representations of young and old as active or vulnerable. These thema were rooted in the age segregated

nature of institutions, stereotypical images and facilitators' allegiances to both the organisation they worked for and the community they worked with.

Given the contradictions evident in conceptualisations of IP in texts and in facilitators talk, the final study granted an opportunity to explore the nature of IP in action. Through the development of a pilot IP in collaboration with an older people's service and school in Stoke-on-Trent, the potential of IP as a tool for fostering friendships and community cohesion was revealed. This meso-level change was actualised through intergenerational contact, communication and activity in an inclusive environment. Despite the push and pull of the idealist macro-level social change rhetoric seen in the IP documents and the individualist IP described in text and talk, IP was successful as a community mobilisation tool, achieving some meso-level social change. This conclusion regarding the potential of IP is depicted in Figure 8.2 where IP as a community mobilisation tool is actualised between the push and pull of conflicting conceptualisations. This engagement provided participants with the opportunity to challenge and resist, through action, representations of older and younger people as vulnerable and allowed notions of *us* and *them* to be redefined. Though the project was time and resource limited, it fostered the building of friendships and community cohesion which acted as pathways to participants' psycho-social empowerment.

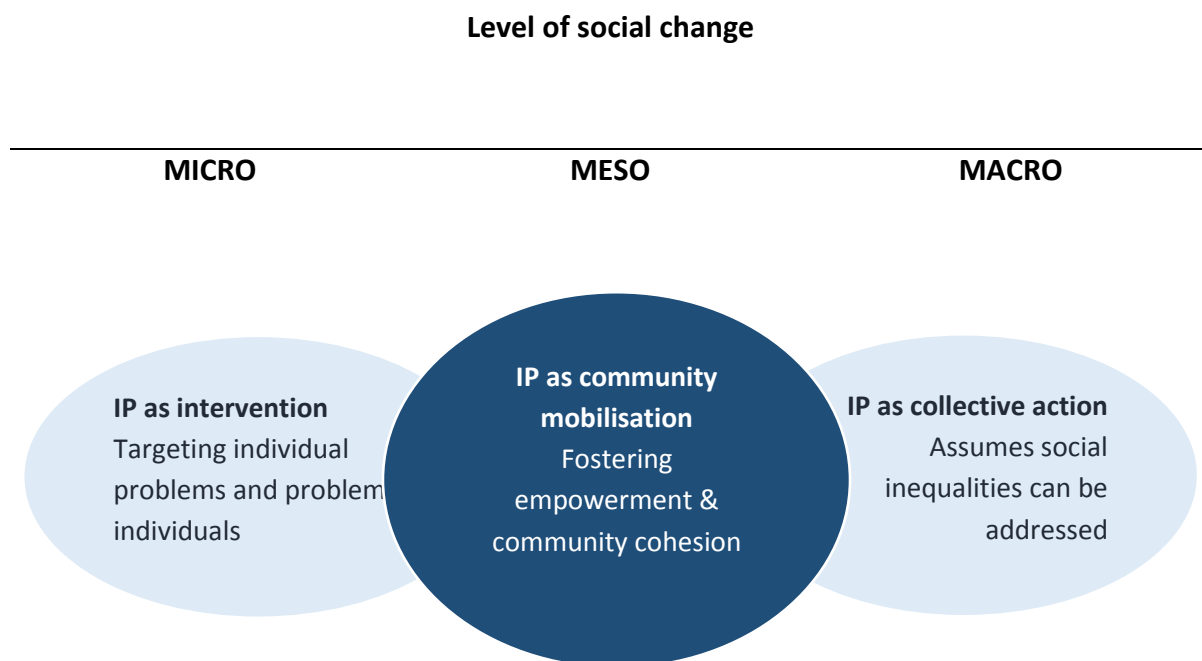


Figure 8.2. Levels of social change with IP as a tool for community mobilisation

8.3 Contributions to the literature

IP was discovered to be is a misunderstood tool characterised by conflicting ideas but ultimately a community mobilisation tool with the potential to foster empowerment and community cohesion. The findings from this work contribute to literature on attitude change, contact theory, the potential of intergenerational practice (including the role of practice facilitators) and the theory of social representations.

8.3.1 Intergenerational practice is not a tool for attitude change

Jarrott's (2011) content analysis of IP across the UK highlighted attitude change as the most common outcome explored in IP. The majority of the studies reviewed showing an

increase in positive attitudes towards older (and sometimes also younger) people.

Approaching IP through a critical social psychological lens has challenged the idea that IP can change attitudes towards older and younger people. Not only has it suggested that IP should be disinterested in challenging individual attitudes as these are inevitably shaped by broader macro-social factors beyond the reach of IP but the study of IP in action demonstrated how a typical IP did not change or improve attitudes towards older and younger people. Instead IP was able to provide younger and older people opportunities to engage with others who act and communicate in ways that challenge their ideas of young and old as vulnerable through collective participation in inclusive activities.

The thema *us/them* underpinned social representations of old and young as active and vulnerable. These social representations were particularly evident in facilitators and participants talk of older and younger people. For both facilitators and participants, old and young were not universally represented as active or vulnerable, instead social context played a key role in determining whether older and younger people were represented as active, engaged, fun and respectful or vulnerable to intimidation, vulnerable to crime and a burden. Themata such as *self/other* or *us/them* can serve a protective function, protecting the identity of self by demonising others (Joffe, 2015). The present findings illustrated how, *us* were mostly defined as active and *them* as vulnerable, supporting Joffe's (2015) notion of 'othering' as a tool to protect the self.

Negative attitudes are taken to be premised upon social representations rooted in culture and context. To assume that IP can change socially constructed ideas shaped by

individuals, communities and societies demonstrates over ambition as the macro-level systems that perpetuate social representations such as the media are not accounted for.

This sub-heading makes a bold statement considering the wealth of literature which has concluded that significant attitude change was found as a result of IP (e.g. Abrams, Eller & Bryant, 2006; Kessler & Staudinger, 2007; Gaggioli, Morganti, Bonfiglio, Scaratti, Cipresso, Serino et al, 2014). The present findings may shed light on why attitude change may have been wrongly concluded in previous research. The findings from the study of IP in action would suggest that IP promotes friendships between old and young project participants. Should such friendships may have fostered in previous research, measures of attitudes towards older and younger people may have captured changes in attitudes towards the older and younger participants. A discrepancy which likely resulted in part from the universalism associated with standardised quantitative measures and a neglect of context in favour of generalisability. The present findings have more in common with ethnographic work involving intergroup contact such as that in Jodelet's (1991) research on psychiatric patients lodging with French villagers. In both the present research and in Jodelet's (1991) contact alone was observed to be insufficient to reduce prejudices. Should previous studies of IP have found a positive change in attitude towards the older and younger IP participants, this would be positive outcome however clearly a more modest outcome than has frequently been concluded.

8.3.2 Contact theory: contributions and compatibility

The wealth of reports on attitude change in IP are attributed not only to the use of standardised measures but also to the use of intergroup contact theory as a framework with which to understand how IP works. Kaplan (2002) used intergroup contact theories as a foundation for the development of the intergenerational contact scale, which is cited in the Centre for Intergenerational Practice: Guide to Practice. In chapter two, I illustrated how contact theories have dominated psychological research on IP alongside an emphasis on the potential of IP as a tool for improving attitudes towards older and (sometimes also) younger people. Kuehne and Melville (2014) advocated a more critical theoretical approach to the study of IP and in reviewing previous research found that contact theories dominated the field.

Since the 1950s, contact theories have grown and diversified yet at their core are wedded to the notion that contact between members of different groups can reduce prejudice.

When Allport first described the tenets of the contact hypothesis in 1958 (p454), he stated that “To be maximally effective, contact and acquaintance programs should lead to a sense of equality in social status, should occur in ordinarily purposeful pursuits, avoid artificiality, and if possible enjoy the sanction of the community in which they occur.”

This thesis adopted a more critical theoretical approach (as advocated by Kuehne & Melville, 2014) drawing on social representations theory employing mixed qualitative and creative methods. In doing so, through the OASYES project, I was able to look more

critically at the social origin of ideas about young and old. The OASYES project provided a space within which participants could redefine ideas of *us* and *them* and gradually distinguish themselves from other older and younger people – who were still represented as vulnerable after the project had ended.

Despite employing non-traditional methods which resulted in inconsistent findings, ultimately, the conditions within which social representations were challenged, shared a number of fundamental similarities with the facilitating conditions of prejudice reduction highlighted by contact theories. The work from this thesis could contribute to contact theory through a number of extensions and considerations, particularly through a better understanding of the processes involved in facilitating change. The facilitating conditions are presented as fixed states without reference to how to achieve these. The key contribution of this thesis to contact theory is through a greater understanding of the processes which underpin the facilitation of appropriate conditions. These suggested extensions are also detailed in table 8.1.

Table 8.1. Comparison between facilitating conditions in the OAYSES project and those advocated in contact theories

Condition of prejudice reduction according to contact theories	Process of achieving facilitating conditions in IP	Illustrative examples from the OAYSES project
Equal group status	Ensuring the space is accessible, inclusive and engaging	Conducting the pilot in a school necessitated a sustained effort to ensure the older participants could participate
Common goals	Engaging in dialogue with all stakeholders to identify common goals	Common goals were established through a series of interviews with community organisations for older and younger people as well as through dialogue with the school, older people's organisation and participants
Intergroup co-operation	Provision of mutually engaging activities and opportunities	Co-operation was fostered through shared activities such as jewellery making and opportunities to discuss collective ideas about the community
Authority/Institutional support	Facilitator should act as mediator, negotiating a balance between informality and formality	Facilitators offered encouragement and suggested activities when requested but were also conscious to allow relationships to develop as organically as possible by not imposing too much.

A key contribution of this thesis is in providing a detailed account of the nature of the conditions detailed in Table 8.1 and the underlying processes which facilitated these conditions and fostered social change. A fundamental process in the facilitation of social change (friendships and community cohesion) in the OAYSES project was the fostering of and ongoing management of inclusive spaces. The OAYSES project also highlighted the difficulties in trying to provide spaces which were inclusive for both older and younger people. Hagestad (2006) highlighted how social institutions in the UK are strongly age-segregated therefore the creation of inclusive spaces may be especially challenging and more so than for other intergroup contact interventions based on different social categories. The maintenance of inclusive spaces can help in the promotion of equal status through challenging negative assumptions and stereotypes of both groups. In the OAYSES project, for example, despite overcoming the challenges of getting the older participants to and from the hosting school, the community room was safe, accessible and welcoming. Inclusive spaces can therefore act as a buffer to macro-level inequality and inclusion through fostering an environment where participants can challenge negative social representations. The condition of equal group status needs to account for this and the source of any inequality in group status. Although typical intergroup contact interventions lack the power with which to remove such inequalities, they can at least buffer against these by maintaining spaces which protect foster inclusivity on a meso-level.

A further process shed light on the condition of institutional support. This somewhat vague concept in which institutions should support and facilitate both groups in reaching desired outcomes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) is illuminated further through insights into

the nature of the facilitator of IP. This thesis highlighted how both the experience and conceptualisations of facilitators help them to construct the purpose of contact, the potential outcomes and the nature of the participants. The mediatory role of the facilitator lend to the success of the project, a reflective role which required ongoing management. Support was seen most explicitly in processes of balancing structure and informality within the project. The facilitators attempted to impose on the budding relationships between the older and younger people as little as possible and it was in the more organic interaction that friendships and community cohesion developed.

Institutional support as a condition of intergroup contact, says little in itself about how such support might be actualised. Although all intergroup contact interventions will differ in nature, the need to strike a balance between structure and informality can be treated as a recommendation for achieving the condition of institutional support.

These extensions would help those developing intergroup contact interventions to take a more critical holistic approach which resists the tendency to treat contact as occurring within a vacuum. Ultimately however, the ontological conflict between theories of intergroup contact and social representations theory may hinder the incorporation of any insights here into contact-based approaches to social change. This brings us back to the crises in social psychology highlighted in chapter three. Ontologically and epistemologically, contact theories treat attitudes as individual preferences, constructed within the mind of independent isolated beings. As such, it is deemed appropriate to reduce, operationalise and measure attitudes through standardised measures, usually scales.

What this thesis has demonstrated is that prejudice reduction (as evidenced through attitude changes) is not the primary form of social change fostered through intergenerational contact. Hewstone and Stuart (2011: 380) in their review of the contact hypothesis and its developments over the past “fifty-odd years” concluded that:

“Prejudice among majority group members is not the sole, or even necessarily the main, problem of inter-group relations between members of majority and minority groups of unequal status and power, and we need to address the advantages and any disadvantages of inter-group contact, for members of majority and minority groups, with an open mind.”

Prejudice reduction may therefore in future no longer be the key aim of intergroup contact. Theorists are evidently interested in expanding and developing this work however empirical research is yet to catch up. Hewstone and Stuart (2011) wrote of the need for an open mind in addressing inter-group contact. The findings from this thesis suggest that through the application of more exploratory methods and a more social constructionist ontology and epistemology, inter-group contact can be empirically examined “with an open mind”.

It is necessary to acknowledge the ongoing crisis in social psychology and a discipline characterised by two conflicting camps of thought. It would be overly ambitious for me to offer a means of reconciling this crisis. This thesis could be seen by those within

mainstream psychology to offer some valuable extensions and considerations to contact theories and a means of pushing the theory to be ever more context sensitive.

Alternatively, it offers a critical social psychological approach to the study of contact in which the facilitating conditions echo those of the contact hypothesis yet the aims and ambitions of contact are empowerment and collective action as opposed to prejudice reduction.

8.3.3 Intergenerational practice as a tool for fostering community cohesion

This thesis has demonstrated that IP is suited not to tackling individual attitudes or societal stereotypes but instead can play a role in empowering older and younger people to feel more socially included and connected to their community. This thesis has demonstrated both the potential and the limits of IP. Macro-level inequalities such as stereotypes towards old and young, poverty and exclusion cannot be tackled through IP alone as such issues are rooted in the deeper social structures requiring action from those in position of more power. At the same time, IP should not be reduced to and conceptualised as intergroup contact encounters occurring within a socio-political vacuum, concerned only with tackling individual attitudes.

Community cohesion was evident in the ethos of IP in the guidelines where the term was frequently used to describe the aims of practice. It appeared here in a very abstract sense with references made to 'breaking down barriers and bridging the gap' between generations. Facilitators also commonly referred to IP with these construction metaphors.

Many also saw community cohesion as a prerequisite to action and emphasised younger, older (and middle-aged) members of the community coming together to identify mutual interests, assets and concerns. Community cohesion entailed more than contact, it involved building relationships with others and generating a sense of inclusion and connectedness.

Springate, Atkinson and Martin's (2008) systematic review of IP in the UK highlighted community cohesion as a key aim and outcome of practice. Despite this emphasis, few studies detailed how this outcome was achieved. A misalignment was often evident where the goals and ambitions of IP were to address stereotypes and inequalities yet research was characterised by a reliance on quantitative measures and standardized scales measuring individual outcomes (Jarrot, 2011). This has limited an understanding of the level of change IP has the potential to address and if and how community cohesion is achieved. Alcock and colleagues (2011) in their ethnographic evaluation of a IP project, employed qualitative methods to gain a richer understanding of outcomes including community cohesion, finding that a 'positive sense of community' was an outcome. Though this study added depth to a literature populated with quantitative measures it did not engage discussion of the social psychological processes involved in achieving this cohesion, instead reducing this to an individual level construct.

The present research has illustrated that community cohesion is a key aim of IP, is advocated by many facilitators and can be achieved in practice through the facilitation of inclusive spaces. These conditions parallel some of those raised in previous research by

Jovechelovitch (2007) who states that participation is central to enable the voices of the socially excluded to come to the fore, as well as those emphasised by Campbell and Jovechelovitch (2010) in the context of HIV/AIDS interventions. The present study adds to this previous work by illustrating the opportunities and barriers to a more socially sensitive approach to understanding social change. In addition it identifies possible root causes of conflicting approaches to social change (a polyphasic representational field arising from themata *individualism/collectivism* and *us/them*).

Dixon, Durrheim, Stevenson and Cakal (2016) reviewed prejudice reduction models of change (such as intergroup contact) versus collective action models of change (such as community mobilisation) which are largely seen as incompatible. This thesis has addressed the main challenge presented by these models (according to Dixon et al, 2016) by exploring how the relationship between them plays out within the context of IP. The authors called for greater specificity as to the conditions under which interventions based on these models are effective, ineffective or even counter-productive in creating a more just society. IP has been shown to be a practice understood as both prejudice reduction and collective action with its real potential lying in a middle ground between the two. In reality IP is an effective community mobilisation tool, unnecessarily focused on individual level change but simultaneously unable to attend to the macro-level inequalities it strives to change. IP facilitators must work together with social institutions, many of which may reinforce material and symbolic exclusion of young and old in what Cornish and Ghosh (2007) referred to as the necessary conditions of 'community-led' health promotion.

8.3.4 The role of active agents in the facilitation of intergenerational practice

The model of IP resulting from this work (presented in Figure 8.2) challenges the reductionist models and methods previous applied in this field, for example Kaplan's (2002) seven point scale of intergenerational engagement and Jarrot et al's (2008) Intergenerational Observations scale. Using the theory of social representations, this thesis has demonstrated the role of other vital 'active agents' in the construction of IP; the facilitators and the documents that guide practice. Previous research in this area was limited and a theoretical emphasising facilitators' practical skills (Newman, 1997; Granville, 2002; Langford & Mayo, 2001) or personal characteristics (Giles, Fox & Smith, 1993). Giles et al (1993) depicted the facilitator as project manager, a characteristic echoed by Sanchez et al (2008). This thesis has added to the limited literature on the role of facilitators by delving beyond practical purpose and personal characteristics to the ways in which facilitators shape and construct IP. Furthermore, it has granted insights into implications of facilitators' constructions for older and younger people and the social change they attempt to foster. Rosebrook, Haley and Larkin (2001) suggested that how practitioners respond to situations during practice may reflect their philosophy or working principles. This thesis has demonstrated empirically how facilitators conceptualisations of practice and what it can achieve is shaped by their experience and understanding. Furthermore it has shown that this understanding is rooted in the tension between individualism/collectivism suggesting that if and when more institutions adopt collectivist approaches to social issues, facilitators' understandings may follow suit.

The additional key agent of social change examined in this thesis and absent in previous research was the guidance on IP. Granville (2002) Statham (2009 and Knight (2012) each called for a greater exploration of 'intergenerational politics' in the UK. Examining the IP guidance revealed a practice characterised by tensions and contradictions which informed the nature of the practice and shaped who it was targeted at. Though community-led and community mobilisation research (e.g. Campbell & Cornish, 2010; Cornish & Ghosh, 2007) has highlighted the need to address the influence of the more powerful in facilitating or limiting social change, few previous studies have offered an in-depth analysis into the social constructions of a practice and its associated concepts within formal literature. Such analysis sheds further light on the broader context within which practice is conducted. Academics studying IP should similarly seek to adopt a more critical theoretical approach combined with an action research framework employing mixed qualitative methods. This combination is critical, exploratory and change-driven, complementing the grassroots ambitions of IP while remaining sensitive to the social structures which ultimately contain and limit the reach of any social change.

8.3.5 Themata and reified knowledge: contributions to the theory of social representations

Themata often underpin social representations. They are rooted in culture and often less explicit than the social representations they give rise to (Markova, 2007). Themata may give rise to many social representations or a single thema may give rise to a diverse representational field. The latter was found in the present research. The thema

individualism/collectivism was identified as being at the root of a polyphasic representational field in relation to IP. The conflicting ideas within this field fell under a social representation of IP as intervention (underpinned by individualism) and a social representation of IP as collective action (underpinned by collectivism) (see Figure 8.1)

What this thesis has contributed is a study of IP through a social constructionist lens. Theoretically, it has pushed social representations theory to its critical potential as advocated by Howarth (2006) by exploring social representations circulated within action, within expert knowledge as well as within the 'science' of IP itself. Though it has been accepted that social representations inform reified knowledge systems (Moscovici & Markova, 1998) and are not simply the vulgarisation of science (as earlier work suggested) little empirical work has sought to explore social representations within more reified or scientific knowledge systems. Jarrott (2011) called for the further development of intergenerational theory. This thesis has instead demonstrated that a more critical social psychological approach, in combination with methods that better capture participants' social constructions, may be more sufficiently equipped to understanding how IP attempts to promote positive social change.

8.4 The future of intergenerational practice

IP has emerged here as a tool for meso-level change through empowerment, though this potential of IP is not currently evident in reports or guidance for practice. As illustrated in

the analysis of IP documents, these are too often conflicted regarding the purpose of IP, who supposedly benefits and what role the facilitator plays.

This thesis has highlighted a clear need for the practice literature to address contradictions in its rhetoric. Guidance to IP can draw on the findings of this thesis in a number of ways. A key implication which emerged from the study of IP texts is the need for the promotion of IP *with* older people rather than *for* older people. Targeting IP only at vulnerable older people and their services may reinforce negative and limited views of older people as vulnerable, or position older people as in need of receipt of IP rather than being actively engaged in practice. IP should look to have more of a presence in youth organisations and services in order to help address the myth that IP is a practice for older people. Furthermore, this increased presence could help expose youth community workers to IP, to older communities, addressing notions of older people as passive and vulnerable.

The above efforts would however be wasted without IP documentation first making a clearer case for its purpose and capacity as a tool for social change. Popular guides to practice such as the *Centre for Intergenerational Practice: Guide to Practice* draw upon Kaplan's (2002) intergenerational contact scale. IP guidance material should be wary of presenting contact as tokenistic and of benefit without attention to the facilitating conditions and processes extended here (see section 1.3.1.).

8.5 Intergenerational practice in the UK

Practitioners should take heed and recognise that the value of IP lies not in a potential to change attitudes and fix 'problem' individuals but in its capacity to empower communities and build resilience to buffer the effects of societal inequalities faced by both younger and older people (poverty, exclusion and stereotyping). Campbell (2015) suggested that practitioners are beginning to move away from individual-level models of change and that it is academic researchers who have failed to keep up with these developments. For IP, which has often involved collaborations between organisations, it appears to have been more challenging to make that move towards developing practices aimed at empowering communities.

IP should be a tool with which to showcase active ageing in the face of an institutional lag which often characterises social institutions for old and young as places for the vulnerable. The present findings imply dilemmatic thinking and practice, particularly for facilitators. Even where facilitators engage with an understanding of practice as a tool for community empowerment and active engagement, they may be hindered in facilitating IP as collective action due to barriers associated with an institutional culture which values intervention targeted at individuals.

There is a clear need to emphasise to facilitators and organisations the need to support IP beyond the initial intergenerational contact. A focus on simple establishing intergenerational contact, although often logistically challenging, is insufficient to

achieving positive social change. Contact (within an inclusive environment) should serve as a starting point for a practice which engages and empowers both generations rather than being the end product or aim.

Age segregated institutions may serve to circulate negative representations of old and young. Hagestad (2006) argued that segregated social intuitions are the root cause of ageism. A preoccupation with physically safe and accessible spaces for older participants risks IP being facilitated in spaces which are uninviting to younger people and reinforce rather than challenge negative representations of older people as vulnerable. Facilitators should be mindful to ensure that spaces are both physically and symbolically inclusive.

This thesis adds to the debate on whether IP as a concept is the best tool for community level change. Although modest successes were evident within the OAYSES project, this thesis has highlighted conflicting conceptualisations of IP within text and talk. In the course of meetings with project partners and stakeholders some indicated a preference for the term 'multigenerational practice'. Linking Generations Northern Ireland also used the term 'all-age friendly communities'. A problem with the term 'intergenerational practice' is that it assumes and imposes age-identities before practice has begun, implicitly suggesting that barriers to harmonious age-relations are solved through intergroup contact. Hatton-Yeo (2015) recognised the difficulty of concepts such as old and young and their implications for practice. The current work suggests that further work is needed to create sustainable avenues for community empowerment through IP. It may well be that the strategic intentions of IP hinder the future of the practice by

imposing too many aims, assumptions and values. Guerlain and Campbell (2016) in their study of community gardens as spaces for prefigurative social change found that change was not a result of strategic intentions but of participation in shared practices in spaces which fostered in engagement.

Further research should seek to address the sustainability of the community change witnessed in small time limited projects like the OAYSES project and explore whether more sustained efforts can provide a greater challenge (on a community level at least) to individual and community issues such as opportunities to develop skills and community cohesion). In addition to examining practices labelled as IP and in line with Guerlain and Campbell (2016) community spaces that engage those across the lifespan in shared activities should be explored further. The nature of such spaces may offer further insights in how older and younger people can connect in ways that buffer the effects of social exclusion. In Stoke-on-Trent specifically, one of the greenest cities in the UK, this may include looking at allotments, parks and shared outdoor spaces and their potential to engage those of all ages.

8.6 Limitations of the research

Wolcott (1990: 30) suggested including a disclaimer in the reports of qualitative research to make clear a recognition of the limitations of the study, recognising that “it occurred in a particular place, at a particular time, and under particular circumstances; that certain factors render the study atypical and that limited generalization is warranted”. The

present research is no different and what follows are some key strengths and limitations of the work.

In the first of the three studies, a UK wide sample of IP documents was selected due to the relatively small number of guides to IP that are in circulation. The subsequent two studies adopted more of a case study approach in exploring representations of practice in talk and in action within one particular city. An exploration of social representations of IP in facilitators talk and in action across the UK was not within the reach of this study. Instead in sacrificing generalisability, what was achieved was a credible understanding of the processes involved in IP and its capacity for social change in context of a small network of organisations in one British city. A geographical limit upon the sample resulted in a more credible 'picture' of the social representations circulating among IP facilitators in one city. Previous research (Sánchez, Díaz, Sáez, & Pinazo, 2014; Ayala, Hewson, Bray, Jones & Hartley, 2007) had explored the characteristics of those with experience working in IP yet no research had yet explored the characteristics of those working with older or younger populations with the potential to facilitate intergenerational work in the future. In doing so, the present research has offered insights into some of the perceived barriers and opportunities to approaching IP.

As a piece of IP, the OAYSES project was able to foster the empowerment of older and younger people through the creation of a space in resistance to the broader social exclusion these participants faced. It demonstrated how quickly intergenerational friendships can develop in environments which foster inclusion. The study of this project

offered a reflexive account of IP in action where emphasis was placed upon decisions and processes rather than quantified individual outcomes. As social phenomena cannot be separated from their contexts (Flyvbjerg, 2001) social scientific understanding advances through conceptually driven case studies of phenomena studied in context. Cornish (2006) recognised the role of context and its implications for the generalisability of findings in her study of Indian sex workers. Case studies, Cornish argued, hold generalisability in their concepts rather than in the populations studied. Generalisability is therefore not sought here in regards to other British cities but rather the concepts inherent within the analysis (IP as a tool for community cohesion through empowerment) are said to be a useful guide to understanding IP in other contexts. Undeniably, I was embedded within the study of IP in action. Far from being a passive observer with limited influence in a more traditional ethnographic sense, I was a leading figure in the conceptualisation, design and delivery of the project. Even within action research contexts, it is more usual, methodologically and ethically preferable for the research to facilitate from the side-lines or 'behind the scene' (Brydon-Miller, 2012).

8.7 Final reflections on intergenerational practice: from scepticism to a realistic optimism

Reflexivity is perhaps the most distinctive feature of qualitative research (Madill, Jordan & Shirley, 2000), it "subverts the idea of observer as impersonal machine" (England, 1994). I began the research for this thesis with a personal introduction (page xv) in which I positioned myself as sceptical of the potential of any interventionist approaches to

change that aim to treat or control problem individuals. I set out with the aim of understanding both the assumptions and values within IP as well as understanding if and how it and achieves change. My scepticism for formalised structured interventions inevitably bled into and shaped the design of my research, particularly the first study. My determinism to make sense of IP and its impact on communities drove and motivated me throughout.

On reflection, I became very quickly immersed in the same tensions in the conceptualisations of IP that I was studying. At no one point did I believe IP to be simply a tool for changing individual level issues or a tool for changing societal level inequalities, I did however feel the push and pull of both understandings as I witnessed and interpreted this throughout. Ultimately, I became a part of the 'contradiction of community-led health promotion' as described by Cornish and Ghosh (2007) in that a large part of my work involved collaborating and cooperating with those who held the power to both shape and limit opportunities for young and old (i.e. schools, the local authority, and local services). Johnson (2000) suggested that partnerships within action research can encourage reflective practice in non-academic partners and I would hope that all those I networked with and shadowed, interviewed or collaborated with during the course of this research gained a fresh perspective on their own practices.

I have learned that IP, though not a tool with which to achieve far reaching macro-level change, is currently too often either underestimated and characterised simply as a tool for changing attitudes or overestimated and assumed to have the power to tackle society

wide problems. I have undoubtedly grown and developed personally through the course of this research project. Having experienced first-hand the challenges of developing a small IP and enthusing all necessary supporting partners and collaborators, I have a newfound admiration for those who are able to develop and sustain initiatives that empower older and younger people and foster community cohesion. While the idealist in me would like identify simple solutions to societal issues such as poverty and the social exclusion of young and old, I end this research project with a sense of realistic optimism having experienced the power of small scale IP to promote community empowerment.

8.8 Chapter summary

The aim of this chapter was to tie the findings of the thesis together and demonstrate what has been learned about the nature of intergenerational practice and the implications of this knowledge for the relevant literatures and for practice. Between the push and pull of conflicting social representations, IP was actualised as a community mobilisation tool with the potential for fostering community cohesion through the empowerment of older and younger people. These findings present a challenge to the idea of IP as a tool for attitude change – a prominent idea in the psychological literature on IP. They present possible extensions to contact theory, a theory too often neglectful of context and processes of change. They demonstrate how IP can be successful as a tool for the promotion of community cohesion and how other ‘active agents’ previously absent from the literature contribute to shaping the aims and ambitions of the practice. For social representations theory, these findings offer an empirical example of the theory’s

critical potential to explore more reified knowledge. This chapter has discussed all of the above in addition to the implications of the findings for IP development and practice, limitations of the research and some final reflections.

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Appendix A: The nature of Stoke-on-Trent

Stoke-on-Trent has a population of around 250,000 people and is a city comprising of six towns. It is one of the greenest cities in the UK and known for being warm and creative city. Figure 1 below shows the six key towns which make up the city.

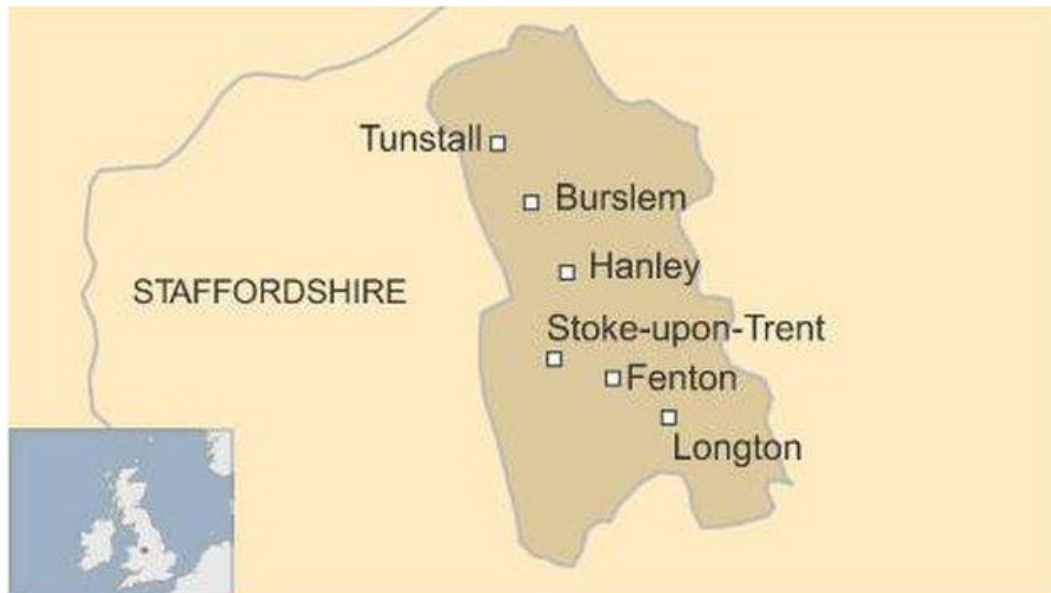


Figure 1. The six towns of Stoke-on-Trent and their relationship to Staffordshire and the UK

The city, like many industrial cities within the UK has seen many changes in the past few decades and has had to adapt according to a changing economy. Stoke-on-Trent is also known as the Potteries and once had a thriving pottery industry. In 1958, 94% of the UK's pottery was made in Stoke-on-Trent by 70,000 people working for Wedgewood, Spode, Minton and other successful pottery manufacturers (Rice, 2010). In 2009 the number of people working in the pottery industry had dropped to 6,000. Likewise, the mining industry provided life-long employment for large numbers of people in Stoke-on-Trent. The last deep coal mine, Silverdale Colliery closed in 1998 resulting in the loss of over 1000 jobs and ending 100 years of coal production at that site. Employment and career prospects are as a consequence very different for young people today than they were fifty years ago.

The social make up of Stoke-on-Trent has also seen many changes. Many older residents within the city have resided in the same home for seventy years or more and will have witnessed many changes around them. Around 14% of the Stoke-on-Trent population come from a non-White British background and Pakistani communities are the largest

minority group making up around 4% of the City's population. Whilst the number of people aged 65 years and over is growing nationally, the 2011 census showed a small drop in this age range in Stoke-on-Trent. Whilst the number of 0 to 9 year olds has seen a decrease nationally, the numbers in Stoke-on-Trent have increased by 9.6 per cent. Stoke-on-Trent is a younger person's city in comparison to other cities across the UK.

Stoke-on-Trent is a deprived city when considering domains such as health, disability, income and education. It ranked as the 16th most deprived local authority area out of a total of 326 areas in England (NHS England, 2013). Life expectancy for both men and women in the city is lower than the England average. Despite substantial change and disadvantage, Stoke-on-Trent people have been described as some of the friendliest in the UK, something the city prides itself on. The city's pottery has recently had a resurgence.

Older and younger people in Stoke-on-Trent

For younger people, access to employment, education and training is a key issue in Stoke-on-Trent, perhaps unsurprising given the previous detail on the changing economics of the city. A 2013 Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Economic review (staffordbc.gov.uk) showed that overall GCSE attainment in Stoke-on-Trent remained well below the national average. At the time of publication youth unemployment in the city stood at 7.8% compared to a national rate of 5.6% and the number of people not in education, employment or training stood at 9.2% compared to the national average of 5.8%.

For older people nationwide, loneliness and isolation are key issues as highlighted by AgeUK, the Beth Johnson Foundation and discussed more in Chapter One. In Stoke-on-Trent, loneliness and isolation among older people have been highlighted as priority issues by local government. The Stoke-on-Trent Public Health department estimates that 4000 people aged 65 and over across the city are experiencing long-term loneliness. The Age Friendly Cities steering group comprises of key members of third sector and government organisations who work collaboratively with an aim to address "social participation, transport and personal safety at home and in the community".

The semi-structured interviews with key community facilitators (Chapter 6) served two purposes. In addition to allowing for an exploration into representations of intergenerational practice and various communities across the city, the interviews enabled an exploration into the key features of older and younger communities as experienced by the facilitators who worked with them. In parallel to analysing the data from the interview transcripts, a list of these key features was compiled and is presented in table 1 below.

Table 1.

Key features of older and younger communities in Stoke-on-Trent as perceived by 18 community facilitators across the city.

Younger communities	Older communities
Socially isolated	
Difficulty coping with life transitions	
Committed	
Low in confidence	
Excellent digital skills	Vast and diverse skill set
Ambitious	Knowledgeable
Lack of education, skills and employment	Proud
Segregated	Lonely
Lack of home stability	Chronic health conditions
Lack of identity	Lack of resilience
Lack of role models	Disconnected from family
Low in self-esteem	Fearful of crime

Just as the key features of communities were compiled during analysis of the interviews with community facilitators, so were the facilitators' views on the key benefits or challenges to intergenerational practice for those communities. Table 2 shows those that appeared in the facilitator interview transcripts.

Table 2.

Opportunities and barriers to intergenerational practice in Stoke-on-Trent as perceived by community facilitators

Opportunities	Barriers
Digital inclusion	Setting up partnerships
Oral history	Committed facilitators
Befriending	Risk assessments and DBS checks
Joint learning & skills building	Tight school curriculums & busy Heads
Community gardening	Funding

Appendix B



RESEARCH AND ENTERPRISE SERVICES

25th July 2013

Katie Wright-Bevans
Psychology Department
Dorothy Hodgkin Building

Dear Katie,

Re: 'Providers views on intergenerational practice'

Thank you for submitting your revised application for review.

I am pleased to inform you that your application has been approved by the Ethics Review Panel. We wish you every success with your project.

The following documents have been reviewed and approved by the panel as follows:

Document	Version	Date
Application Form	1	May 2013
Summary of Proposal	1	31 May 2013
Letters of Invitation	1	31 May 2013
Information Sheet	2	18 July 2013
Consent Forms	2	18 July 2013
Consent Form for use of quotes	2	18 July 2013
Interview Topic Guides	1	31 May 2013

If the fieldwork goes beyond the date stated in your application, you must notify the Ethical Review Panel via the ERP administrator at uso.erps@keele.ac.uk stating ERP1 in the subject line of the e-mail.

If there are any other amendments to your study you must submit an 'application to amend study' form to the ERP administrator stating ERP1 in the subject line of the e-mail. This form is available via <http://www.keele.ac.uk/researchsupport/researchethics/>



RESEARCH AND ENTERPRISE SERVICES

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me via the ERP administrator on uso.erps@keele.ac.uk Stating ERP1 in the subject line of the e-mail.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jackie".

pp

Dr Jackie Waterfield
Chair – Ethical Review Panel

CC RI Manager
 Supervisor

Appendix C



RESEARCH AND ENTERPRISE SERVICES

7th April 2014

Katie Wright Bevans
Dorothy Hodgkin Building
Keele University

Dear Katie,

Re: Providers' views on intergenerational practice

Thank you for submitting your application to amend study for review.

I am pleased to inform you that your application has been approved by the Ethics Review Panel.

The following documents have been reviewed and approved by the panel as follows:

Document	Version	Date
Interview Schedule	2	27/03/2014
Application Form	2	27/03/2014

If the fieldwork goes beyond the date stated in your application you must notify the Ethical Review Panel via the ERP administrator at uso.erps@keele.ac.uk stating ERP1 in the subject line of the e-mail.

If there are any other amendments to your study you must submit an 'application to amend study' form to the ERP administrator stating ERP1 in the subject line of the e-mail. This form is available via <http://www.keele.ac.uk/researchsupport/researchethics/>

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me via the ERP administrator on uso.erps@keele.ac.uk Stating ERP1 in the subject line of the e-mail.

Yours sincerely

JP

Dr Jackie Waterfield
Chair – Ethical Review Panel

CC RI Manager
Supervisor

Research and Enterprise Services, Keele University, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG, UK
Telephone: + 44 (0)1782 734466 Fax: + 44 (0)1782 733740

Appendix D: Invitation to participate

I am a research student in psychology at Keele University and am writing to let you know about a research study which I am currently conducting under the supervision of Professor Michael Murray. I am currently doing research towards my PhD which looks at the nature of intergenerational practice. This stage of the research is focusing on the view of providers – key individuals who work with the community.

In order to do this, I am currently focusing on providers in Staffordshire and Derbyshire. I am hoping to undertake a series of one to one interviews with key individuals in the Staffordshire and Derbyshire areas. I wish to involve both those with and those without experience of intergenerational practice. I'm looking to find out more about the role of these individuals and their views and experiences of intergenerational practice. In addition, I'm aiming to follow up these interviews with a feedback event where providers will be invited to hear some of the key findings. It is hoped that the findings might help in the development of an intergenerational initiative at a later date. Full details of what is involved in the study are given on the information sheet provided.

If you are interested in taking part in this study, please contact me using the details below. If you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact me for more information.

Yours sincerely,

Katie Wright-Bevans (research student)

Centre for Psychological Research, Keele University

Tel: 01782 734402

Email: k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk

Appendix E



Information Sheet

Study Title: Providers' Views on Intergenerational Practice

Aims of the Research

The current project is exploring providers' views on intergenerational practice. Providers here are defined as key individuals who play a role in the organisation of community projects or groups such as project managers, service leads and community leaders. Comparisons will be made across two counties. We are looking to explore the role that different providers play in their community, how different providers view intergenerational practice and their experiences. Focus will also be on the perceived benefits and challenges of intergenerational practice. Another aim is to then feedback some of the key findings to providers in a small event to which you and other providers will be invited to attend.

Invitation

You are being invited to consider taking part in the research study on Providers Views on Intergenerational Practice. This project is being undertaken by Katie Wright-Bevans (research student) under the supervision of Professor Michael Murray from Keele University.

Before you decide whether or not you wish to take part, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information carefully and discuss it with friends and relatives if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is unclear or if you would like more information.

Why have I been chosen?

As someone who plays a key role in the organisation of community projects or groups, you have been chosen to take part in this study. We are hoping to talk to around 30 people.

Do I have to take part?

You are free to decide whether you wish to take part or not. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign two consent forms, one is for you to keep and the other is for our records. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time and without giving reasons.

What will happen if I take part?

We will set up a time with yourself at a mutually convenient time and location. You will be interviewed on your own by one of the research team. Interviews will last approximately 45 minutes. Once all of the interviews have been completed you will be invited to attend a small event at which some of the key findings will be shared by the research team with yourself and other providers.

If I take part, what do I have to do?

You will take part in a semi-structured interview asking you about your own role and experience in your community and in intergenerational practice, your views on intergenerational practice and opportunities and challenges for its development in your community. You are then welcome to attend the feedback event at which some of the key findings will be discussed.

What are the benefits (if any) of taking part?

You will be helping us understand more about the role that providers' play in the community and in intergenerational practice. The findings may also help in the development of an intergenerational initiative.

What are the risks (if any) of taking part?

Should you choose that your own name be included in any information we use, you need to be aware that this could lead to identifiable information from you being shared with others at the feedback event and in future

reports and presentations. If you don't wish for any quotes from you to be identifiable then it is recommended that you opt to not use your own name when signing the consent form. There are no other risks that we can anticipate of you taking part in this study.

How will information about me be used?

We will be audio-recording the interviews. These will then be transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis, which is a process that looks for common themes and explores the main issues that participants feel are important in relation to the topics. The analysis of these will feed into the feedback event at which key findings will be discussed. The findings will form a part of a broader PhD thesis and will be written up and submitted as a part of this. Findings may also be used in reports, academic conference presentations and to feed into a journal article on the topic of intergenerational practice. Copies of any reports will be available for you and any of the providers taking part on request.

Who will have access to information about me?

The research team are the only people who have access to your recordings and transcripts. These will be kept in a locked filing cabinet alongside any demographic information gathered. You will give us your full name when signing the consent form but your first name will only be used as an identifier in the analysis and all participants will be given pseudonyms for use at the feedback event and in the reports (unless they opt to have their real name used). In accordance with good research practice, we will keep your data for at least five years after the conclusion of the study, and when appropriate the data will be securely destroyed.

Who is funding and organising the research?

The research is a part of a PhD study being jointly funded by The Beth Johnson Foundation, NHS Stoke-on-Trent and Keele University. The research is being organised by Katie Wright-Bevans (research student) at Keele University under the supervision of Professor Michael Murray.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you may wish to speak to the researcher(s) who will do their best to answer your questions. You should contact Katie Wright-Bevans on 01782 734402 or k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk. Alternatively, if you do not wish to contact the researcher(s) you may contact Michael Murray at m.murray@keele.ac.uk

If you remain unhappy about the research and/or wish to raise a complaint about any aspect of the way that you have been approached or treated during the course of the study please write to Nicola Leighton who is the University's contact for complaints regarding research at the following address:-

Nicola Leighton
Research Governance Officer
Research & Enterprise Services
Dorothy Hodgkin Building
Keele University
ST5 5BG
E-mail: n.leighton@uso.keele.ac.uk
Tel: 01782 733306

Contact for further information

Katie Wright-Bevans, Keele University: tel: 01782 734402, email k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk

Appendix F



CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Providers' Views on Intergenerational Practice
Name and contact details of Principal Investigator: Katie Wright-Bevans

Psychology Department, Keele University, Keele, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG.
Tel: 01782 734402
Email k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk

**Please tick box if you
agree with the statement**

- | | | |
|---|--|--------------------------|
| 1 | I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2 | I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | I agree to take part in this study. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4 | I understand that data collected about me during this study will be anonymised before it is submitted for publication. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 | I understand that data collected about me during this study will not be anonymised before it is submitted for publication. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6 | I agree to the interview being audio recorded | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7 | I agree to allow the dataset collected to be used for future research projects | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8 | I agree to be contacted about possible participation in future research projects. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature



Keele
University

CONSENT FORM
(for use of quotes)

Title of Project: Providers' Views on Intergenerational Practice
Name and contact details of Principal Investigator: Katie Wright-Bevans

Psychology Department, Keele University, Keele, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG.
Tel: 01782 734402
Email k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk

**Please tick box if you
agree with the statement**

- 1 I agree for any quotes to be used in any written reports and academic presentations ☐
- 2 I agree for any quotes to be used in a feedback event attended by providers ☐
- 3 I understand that any quotes used during this study **will** be anonymised before it is submitted for publication. ☐
- 4 I understand that any quotes to be used during this study **will not** be anonymised before it is submitted for publication. ☐
- 5 I do not agree for any quotes to be used ☐

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix G

Interview Schedule

Firstly I'd like to ask you a few questions about yourself and the people in the communities you work with. Then I'd like to ask you a few questions about Intergenerational Practice.

Firstly, could you tell me about the people you work with?

Who are they?

What are their needs and what role do you play in their lives?

What words or images come to mind when you think about them?

How do community projects in your area begin and develop?

Why and when do community projects in your area end?

What resources do you think are important for the community you work with?

What do you know about intergenerational practice?

Is this something you have experience in?

What images or thoughts come to mind when you think about intergenerational practice?

How do you feel about intergenerational practice?

Have you had many discussions about Intergenerational Practice?

What do you think are the benefits of Intergenerational Practice?

What do you think are the main challenges associated with intergenerational practice?

What would you expect successful Intergenerational Practice to look like?

Do you see any opportunities for the development of intergenerational practice in the communities you work with?

Do you think the communities you work with could benefit from intergenerational practice?

How?

Are there any specific issues, concerns or strengths in your community that might be addressed through Intergenerational Practice?

Do you have any other thoughts on intergenerational practice or anything else that you would like to share?

Appendix H



RESEARCH AND ENTERPRISE SERVICES

Ref: ERP37

29th September 2014

Katie Wright-Bevans
Centre for Psychological Research
Dorothy Hodgkin Building

Dear Katie,

Re: Intergenerational arts and story sharing research project

Thank you for submitting your application for review. I am pleased to inform you that your application has been approved by the Ethics Review Panel.

The following documents have been reviewed and approved by the panel as follows:

Document	Version	Date
Summary Document	1	25/07/2014
Letter to parents/guardians	2	08/09/2014
Letter of invitation for older participants	2	08/09/2014
Letter of invitation for facilitators	2	08/09/2014
Information Sheet for older participants	2	08/09/2014
Information Sheet for facilitators	2	08/09/2014
Consent Form for older participants	2	08/09/2014
Consent Form for use of quotes and creative work for older participants	2	08/09/2014
Topic Guides	2	08/09/2014
Invitation for Children	1	08/09/2014
Consent Form for Children	1	08/09/2014

- The information regarding the additional interview should be added to the Information Sheet for facilitators
- There need to be written consent from the head teacher provided before the study can start. The start date on the application form should be updated to reflect this.

If the fieldwork goes beyond the date stated in your application, you must notify the Ethical Review Panel via the ERP administrator at uso.erps@keele.ac.uk stating ERP3 in the subject line of the e-mail.

If there are any other amendments to your study you must submit an 'application to amend study' form to the ERP administrator stating ERP3 in the subject line of the e-mail. This form is available via <http://www.keele.ac.uk/researchsupport/researchethics/>

Research and Enterprise Services, Keele University, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG, UK

Telephone: + 44 (0)1782 734466 Fax: + 44 (0)1782 733740



RESEARCH AND ENTERPRISE SERVICES

If you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me via the ERP administrator on uso.erps@keele.ac.uk stating ERP3 in the subject line of the e-mail.


Yours sincerely


A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Heidy".


Handwritten initials "PP" in a simple, blocky script.

Dr Helena Priest
Chair – Ethical Review Panel

CC RI Manager
Supervisor

**Keele
University**

**city of
stoke
on trent**

**Beth Johnson
FOUNDATION**
Knowledge of Ageing in Stoke-on-Trent

You are warmly invited to attend...

*"I don't know how to define it but I know it's something about
helping older people..."*

**Common sense knowledge and future
directions for Intergenerational Practice in
Stoke-on-Trent**

10am-11am Tuesday 28th October 2014
Room C206 (2nd Floor) Civic Centre, Stoke-on-Trent

*A feedback event for those involved in the recent research
'Facilitators and Intergenerational Practice'*
Please RSVP k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk

Katie Wright-Bevans, Centre for Psychological Research, Keele University

Appendix J: Background to the development of the OAYSES project

The acronym OAYSES (Old And Young Sharing Each other's Stories) was decided upon for the name of the initiative at one of the planning meetings. Our brief was broad and our aims were to:

- Provide opportunities to share knowledge, skills and experience
- Build community cohesion in Stoke-on-Trent
- Address stigma and stereotypes associated with being old or young
- Explore the City's past, present and future.
- Build confidence and self-esteem
- Help tackle loneliness among older people in the city
- Promote wellbeing through social participation

These aims along with the project proposal were used to promote the project and recruit a group of younger participants. A list of potential intergenerational activities was my attempt to negotiate my role as 'consultant' in Stoecker's (2003) sense of the term, as that intermediate scholar-activist role between the less ideal 'initiator' and preferred 'collaborator' role. The document implicitly said 'I am not going to design an initiative to implement, instead I will offer a wide range of possibilities to inspire participants and encourage them to pursue their own interests'. Older participants were identified and approached by the Operations Director.

The recruitment of younger people was a key point of discussion during our meetings and it was decided fairly early on that the initiative would logistically work best if it took place in a school. The main reason for using a school was that the older volunteers and clients did not have a single place of residence or regular community meeting space. The organisation offered to resource transport and facilitating staff for the project sessions as it was felt that this would otherwise be a major barrier to participation.

Identifying a younger community group and liaising with schools

A total of thirty three schools in Stoke-on-Trent were contacted by the team, mainly by email but also via phone and in person by the Community Cohesion Officer when attending a school for other City Council business. Schools were sent a copy of the OAYSES initiative proposal and invited to contact the team if interested or had questions. Three schools initially appeared to be very interested in hosting the initiative and much time was devoted to liaising with these and attempting to arrange meetings between school staff and our existing initiative team. After three months of contacting schools, a local secondary school close to the centre of Stoke-on-Trent responded positively to a recruitment email and a meeting with the school was arranged.

Refining the aims and session plans

The organisation was kept informed of progress with the partner school via email as the Operations Director was unable to attend the initial school meeting. Once the partner school had agreed a preliminary start date and date for the initial meeting with the students, a recruitment meeting was arranged with some service users and volunteers. A meeting was also arranged between myself and the two organisation staff who would be facilitating the project. Both staff members agreed to be interviewed and following an initial interview, the aims of the OAYSES sessions were discussed in more detail. Both staff members felt that some structured activities would be important in getting participants past any initial apprehension. The initial session aims involved a selection of possible 'ice-breaker' activities as well as a focus on possible community art ideas. The ethos was to identify what participants wished to gain from the project and what they wished to use the sessions for. Both staff members were happy to play a supporting role while I introduced the OAYSES project and led the ice-breaker activities. A selection of activities was prepared based on popular ideas from projects facilitated by LGNI and Magic Me. However, for the remaining sessions plans were not set, beyond an intention to continue work on a piece of collaborative community art chosen by the participants and allow the participants' goals to drive the sessions.

Meeting with participants and identifying session space

Ahead of the initiative, recruitment meetings and focus groups were held with both the younger and older participants. For the older participants, the organisation granted us access to their community room, a spacious room within their premises. The school granted us access to their community room for the duration of the project. The community room was a large ground floor classroom with immediate access via double doors to the school car park, meaning that people could enter the room without having to navigate the rest of the school building through the main school entrance. The community room hosted tables and chairs, a refreshments table, sink and WC.

Both initial meetings with the younger and older participants were logistically challenging to organise due to participants being unable to commit to particular dates and times. On one occasion I arrived at the school to meet with the younger participants to find that they had not yet been able to return their parental permission slips and so had left school rather than report to reception for the OAYSES meeting. The initial meeting with the students eventually took place over two sessions as half of the students were unable to attend the first planned session. The organisation arranged taxis for the older participants from their homes to the school for every OAYSES session. The initiative consisted of six weekly meetings which lasted for sixty to ninety minutes and took place in the school's community room from 2:45pm every Monday. As the school day finished at 2:45pm, the initiative took place during the students own time. One of the student support staff,

James was on hand during all six OAYSES sessions and also helped to re-organise the community room at the end of each session.

The initiative

Figure 1 below illustrates the different parties involved in the OAYSES initiative, their connection to the project and each other. The dark grey boxes indicating those who were actively involved in the weekly OAYSES sessions (e.g., the participants, researcher and facilitators) while the light grey boxes indicate those involved in granting approvals or planning (e.g., the school head and research project partners).

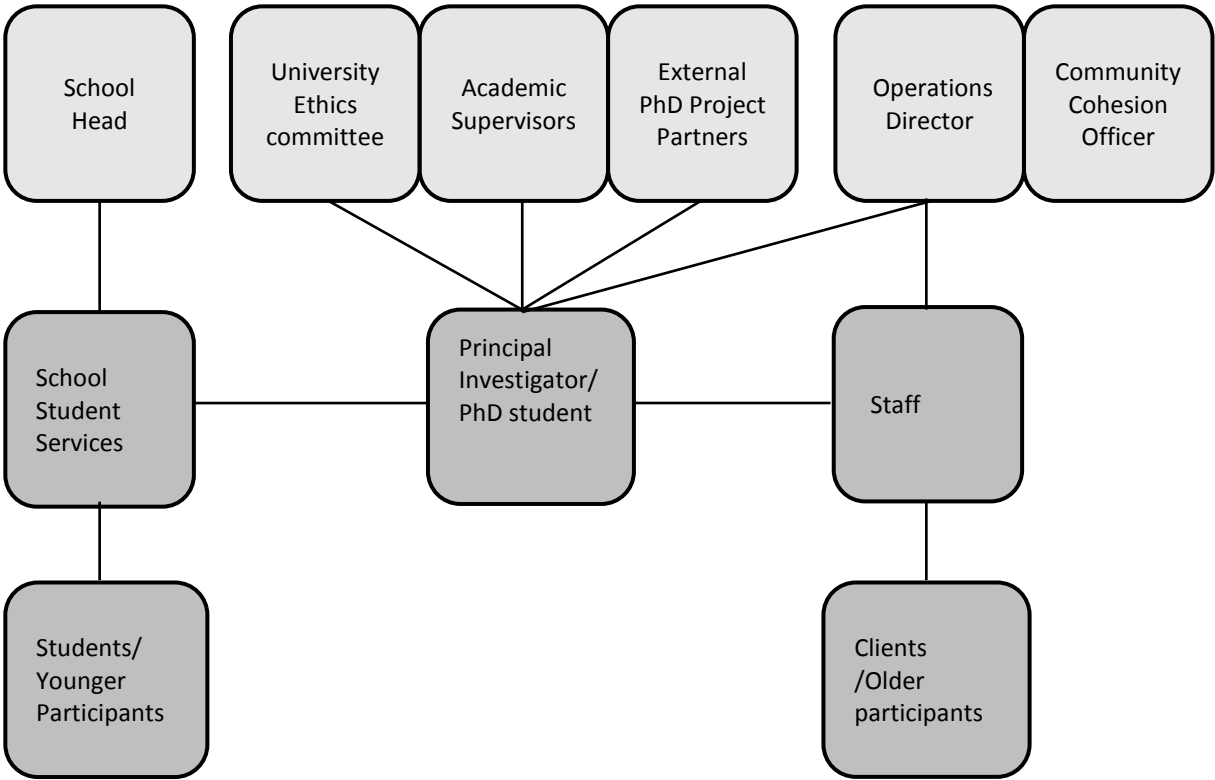


Figure 1. Parties involved in the development of the OAYSES initiative.

Table 1 below provides an overview of who was present at each session and how long the session lasted. It shows

Table 1

Details of people who attended each OAYSES session and length of session.

Session	Older participants (n)	Younger participants (n)	Facilitators /Staff/ researcher (n)	Length of session (minutes)
1	3	5	3	60
2	3	5	3	60
3	4	4	3	70
4	5	4	4	80
5	4	4	3	90
6	5	4	3	90

Table 2 below details the various activities which took place during each of the six sessions. Activities were both provided by the team and led by the participants.

Table 2

Overview of OAYSES session activities

Session	Provided activities	Participant-led activities
1	<p>Introductions</p> <p>Participants on each table were invited to introduce themselves</p> <p>Handprints</p> <p>Participants were invited to create a personalised handprint for somebody</p>	<p>Sharing photos</p> <p>Some of the younger participants shared photos on their mobile phones of themselves and pets with the older participants</p> <p>Drawing</p>

	<p>else on their table</p> <p>Community mural brainstorm</p> <p>The idea of working towards a community mural was introduced to include the handprints and other creative pieces. Participants were invited to discuss what they may wish to include.</p>	<p>Some participants drew doodles or pictures to illustrate their conversations</p>
2	<p>Timeline</p> <p>A 3 metre timeline was displayed and participants were invited to ask others about key life events, write these on post-it notes and stick them in the correct place along the timeline</p>	<p>Sharing photos</p> <p>Most of the younger participants shared photos on their mobile phones and some of the older participants brought photos from home to show to the others</p> <p>Guess who games</p> <p>One table began a guess who game with the post-it notes left from the timeline activity</p>
3	<p>Images of old and young</p> <p>In small groups the participants were provided with two large stick figures drawn on paper and invited to turn one into an older person and one</p>	<p>None</p> <p>The structured activities filled this session</p>

into a younger person

Discussion about stereotypes

As a whole group, the facilitators prompted a discussion about where stereotypes come from

Session evaluation

Post-it notes were distributed to the groups and they were each invited to make comments about today's session

4

Our city

Three large sheets of paper circulated the tables throughout the session. Each sheet detailed a different question about life in Stoke-on-Trent (What makes the city a great place to be old or young, a tough place to be old or young and what would our perfect city look like?)

Session evaluation

Post-it notes were distributed to the groups and they were each invited to

Sharing photos

Photos were shared on mobile phones and brought in from home

Jewellery making

Helen brought equipment in to make jewellery and charms and taught the younger participants on the table how to make these

Cross-stitch

Joan brought along her cross-stitch equipment and created

	make comments about today's session	pieces of cross-stitch whilst in conversation with the younger participants
5	<p>Session evaluation</p> <p>Post-it notes were distributed to the groups and they were each invited to make comments about today's session</p>	<p>Tablet lesson</p> <p>The school provided tablets for this session after an older participant had suggested in the previous session that technology lessons would be useful</p> <p>Sharing photos</p> <p>As in all previous sessions, the participants sometimes shared photos brought in from home and on their mobile phones</p> <p>Jewellery making</p> <p>This continued from the previous session with Helen and the younger participants</p>
6	<p>Easter card making</p> <p>Noting that most of the older participants had brought in gifts for the group, it was suggested to the group that they may wish to make an</p>	<p>Sharing gifts and food brought from home</p> <p>Most of the older participants brought small gifts with them for the others and Fay brought in a rice dish which she had</p>

Easter card/s for others	made at home. The staff were able to heat this and share among the group.
Project evaluation	
Large sheets of paper were left on the tables detailing different questions about OAYSES (What were the best parts of OAYSES, what would you change about OAYSES and how would you describe OAYSES to a friend?)	Project evaluation Natalie approached the team towards the end of the session and offered to hand out and collect feedback from the group via post-it notes as in previous sessions

Before each session began, the older participants and facilitators would gather in the school reception and then James would arrive at 2:45pm to show people to the community room. The older participants would usually just be getting seated as the younger participants began to arrive. Each session would generally be introduced by myself, more formally in the first session and less formally as the sessions continued. From the start of the initiative, the participants were informed that the facilitators had some ideas and plans for the six weeks but encouraged them to use the space to talk about and get involved in their own interests and activities. Each week the group were reminded that they could bring items in from home to share with others or they were equally welcome to sit and chat.

Whilst participants took part in their various activities, the facilitators positioned themselves at tables where the participants seemed less certain of how they were going to approach that particular session and then also spent time with the other tables at a later point. James was present at the start and end of each session and would be on hand for assistance throughout. The facilitators and I initially took responsibility for making refreshments for the whole group throughout the duration of each session however by the third session, the younger participants adopted this responsibility.

‘Breaking down barriers and bridging the gap’

Avenues for Intergenerational community programmes in Stoke-on-Trent

Thank you for your support!

This information sheet is aimed at those involved in the project to give a broad overview of the research, how your organisation has helped, how you might be able to help further and how the project might be of benefit to your organisation in the next stages.

2b I am now ready and looking to develop or collaborate on a community action project involving younger and older communities in the city. The specific activities involved depend on the interests and needs of the communities but might include things like gardening, sports, arts & crafts, music, skills building, history or story sharing. All of these activities and more might help improve community health and wellbeing.

PROJECT OVERVIEW

1

Analysis of Intergenerational documents, toolkits & guidelines

↓

2a

Interviews with S-O-T Project managers, planners & facilitators

↓

2b

Community action with a S-O-T community with the aim of positive social change for all ages

↓

What I need....

- A small group of younger people and a small group of local older people interested in taking part in a community action project starting in Autumn 2014.
- Community space suitable for all involved, activity materials and also a local community artist/instructor if necessary.

OR

- An ongoing intergenerational project or one due to start before Spring 2015.

What I can offer...

- In-depth engaged analysis and evaluation of your project through creative research methods and group activities demonstrating the impact of intergenerational community programmes for S-o-T and the value of your organisation.
- A thorough report of the findings of the project and benefits for those involved and help in disseminating these as widely as possible.
- Practical help and support, making refreshments, moving furniture, facilitating activities and general support.

For further details please contact Katie on k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk

Keele University

**city of
stoke
on trent**

**Beth Johnson
FOUNDATION**

This project is supported by Keele University, Stoke-on-Trent City Council and the Beth Johnson Foundation.



The OAYSES Project

Old and Young Sharing Each other's Stories

A Stoke-on-Trent intergenerational community initiative



Making it happen:

**Keele University, Saltbox, Stoke-on-Trent City Council Cohesion Team
and Primary and Secondary Schools across Stoke-on-Trent**



This project is led by Keele University and Saltbox and also supported by Keele University, Stoke-on-Trent City Council and the Beth Johnson Foundation.



The OAYSES Project

**Old and Young Sharing Each other's Stories:
A Stoke-on-Trent intergenerational community initiative**

Partners: Keele University, Saltbox, City Council Cohesion Team and Schools across Stoke-on-Trent

What is an intergenerational community initiative?

Intergenerational community initiatives involve bringing older and younger people together to participate in activities that will benefit both generations. Generally the participants are under 25 and over 50 years old, these age groups often both experience age prejudice, social isolation, mental health concerns and a lack of confidence and opportunities. The specific activities involved depend on the interests and needs of the communities but might include things like gardening, cooking, sports, arts & crafts, music, skills building, history or story sharing. Initiatives can be big and bold or small and humble.



Why do an intergenerational initiative in Stoke-on-Trent?

Here are just a few reasons to do intergenerational community work in the city...

- To provide opportunities to share knowledge, skills and experience
- To build community cohesion in Stoke-on-Trent
- To address stigma and stereotypes associated with being old or young
- To explore the City's past, present and future
- To build confidence and self-esteem
- To help tackle loneliness among older people in the city
- To promote wellbeing through social participation

Project Overview

Once a week over the course of 6 to 12 weeks, school children and older adults meet to share stories about life in Stoke-on-Trent. These sessions are about making connections, sharing experiences and challenging assumptions about being younger or older. The group might also like to turn their stories into lasting memories by creating simple and easy to make works of art such as drawings or handprints containing a story about 'me and my community'.

What a session could include for your school ...



Introductions: Types of introductions will depend on the ages of the young people involved. Younger children may want to create hand prints with their older volunteer, drawing around each other's hands and writing something about that person in their hand print. The group may want to decorate name badges for one another or write a poem to say 'hello' or 'goodbye'. A mix of group work and pairs usually works well in the first session.

Sharing Stories: The following sessions focus around story sharing. Photographs or a favourite object brought into the sessions could spark discussions around home, family, growing up, work, hobbies and much more. We might want to focus on a different topic each week. These activities might start off very structured and then become for naturalistic as people get to know each other.

Creating lasting memories: To add variety to the sessions and create lasting memories, the group might want to write out some of each other's stories, doodle, paint or write poems as individual pieces or a group mural. This can be done in many ways and will depend on resources available and skills of the group and facilitators.

Saying goodbye: Hopefully the group will built up a relationship over the course of the sessions therefore saying goodbye is as important as the first introduction. This might be where the generations exchange a poem, a photograph or written story with another as a thank you for sharing.

Project Objectives

- To engage both generations in discussions with each other and share stories of Stoke-on-Trent.
- To create lasting memories of the City through creative work.
- To use engaging activities address stereotypes associated with being young or old.
- To research both the process and benefits of intergenerational work for older and younger participants through engaging and creative research methods.
- To carry out in-depth analysis and evaluation of the initiative in order to demonstrate impact, value and provide evidence of what works and what doesn't.

What type of research is involved and why?

- Lengthy questionnaires with scales and tick boxes can be intimidating and off putting to many of us. Instead, our experience is in using more engaging and creative methods to better understand how initiatives benefit communities.
- Methods such as **world cafe's** (a more relaxed style of focus group) and **community arts** (participants draw, photograph, paint etc.. to express their thoughts and feelings) are more creative methods. These help to remove the expert/participant barrier and get to heart of how people truly feel. These methods recognise that the participants themselves are the experts how they think and feel. A detailed (anonymised) report will be produced for the school.



Participant's chatting and making doodles to describe their thought and feelings during a world cafe

What resources are needed?

Resources will largely depend on the type of project but will include:

- **SPACE:** weekly use of a classroom suitable for 8 to 12 participants plus 2 to 4 staff.
- **PARTICIPANTS:** 4 to 6 children who might benefit from taking part in the initiative.
- **MATERIALS:** Anything schools can provide ranging from paper to paint would be incredibly helpful.
- **STAFF:** A teaching/teaching assistant to be present during the sessions should the children need any extra assistance.

Intergenerational art



Contact the Team

For more information about the project design or research element please contact:

Katie Wright-Bevans (OAYSES Research lead) Centre for Psychological Research, Keele University
k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk or Tel: 01782 734402



This project is led by Keele University and Saltbox and also supported by Keele University, Stoke-on-Trent City Council and the Beth Johnson Foundation.

Appendix M

IASS Research Project – Information for Older Participants



Information Sheet

Study Title: Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Research Project

Aims of the Research

The aims of the present study are to explore both the benefits of being involved in an intergenerational community project and the processes involved in achieving these.

Invitation

You are being invited to consider taking part in the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Research project. This research project is being undertaken by Katie Wright-Bevans (Postgraduate Researcher in Social and Health Psychology) under the supervision of Professor Michael Murray (Head of School and Professor of Social and Health Psychology) and Dr Alexandra Lamont (Senior Lecturer in Psychology)

Before you decide whether or not you wish to take part, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information carefully and discuss it with friends and relatives if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is unclear or if you would like more information.

Why have I been invited?

You are being invited to take part in this research because you have expressed an interest in taking part in the Intergenerational Arts and Story Telling project that this research is exploring. We are hoping to recruit around 4-8 older participants and 4-8 children to participate in the research.

Do I have to take part?

You are free to decide whether you wish to take part or not. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign two consent forms, one is for you to keep and the other is for our records. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time and without giving reasons. You are also free to take part in the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing without taking part in the research study. This will allow you the same involvement as others in the project however we will not be able to study your involvement for our research.

What will happen if I take part?

If you decide to take part in this research, you will be invited to take part in two focus groups, one at the beginning of the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing project and one at the end. These groups will be attended by four to eight 'older' volunteers on the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing project. We will seek to arrange a date, time and location convenient for all. These groups will be as informal as possible, will take place in a private setting either at the host school or a convenient community venue. The discussions are anticipated to last around 1 to 2 hours and refreshments will be provided. The lead researcher (Katie Wright-Bevans) will initiate the discussion by asking a number of questions about age stereotypes and life in Stoke-on-Trent.

As well as the focus groups, the weekly project sessions with the children will be observed and notes will be made about how the project is going generally. You may be asked how you are finding different activities and notes will be made about any responses in order to track the progress of the project. These notes are treated with strict confidentiality and shared only among the research team.

Finally, with your permission, any creative work that is produced during the project (drawings, stories, paintings, photographs etc..) will be photocopied or photographed so that it may be included in the research whilst still allowing for originals to be kept.

What are the benefits (if any) of taking part?

Page 1 of 2

ERP27314

Version No: 2
Date: 08/09/2014
1 for participant, 1 for researcher

Though there are not any immediate or additional benefits of taking part in the research project we hope that by taking part you will enjoy contributing to a greater understanding of age stereotypes in Stoke-on-Trent and life in Stoke-on-Trent as an older person. We also hope that you will enjoy being a part of helping to build a better understanding of intergenerational projects and their benefits for the people involved.

What are the risks (if any) of taking part?

By agreeing to take part in this research there is a risk that your involvement could lead to you being identified as a participant of this research project. It is your decision about what you disclose to others and some of this information might make you identifiable to others.

How will information about me be used?

The focus group discussions will be audio recorded and transcribed. The notes made during observations will be transcribed and the creative work will be photographed or photocopied and analysed. During the transcription and analysis all names will be anonymised before any reports are produced. Reports will then be made for the participating school, Saltbox and the City Council as the research findings may help with the design of future intergenerational work in the city. The research will also form a part of the lead researcher's (Katie Wright-Bevans) PhD thesis. Papers might also be prepared for academic conferences and journals.

Who will have access to information about me?

As you will be taking part in group discussions, information that you volunteer will also be available to other group members as well as the research team and other facilitators (school teacher and Saltbox co-ordinator) present. Similarly, any information you choose to include about yourself in a creative form (e.g. your full name or photograph of yourself on a piece of art) will be available to others should you choose to include this artwork in the research. Recordings, notes and copies of creative work will be kept securely in a locked filing cabinet and electronic copies will be stored on a password protected file. According to good research practice, we will keep your data for at least 5 years after the conclusion of the study, and when appropriate will be securely destroyed.

I do however have to work within the confines of current legislation over such matters as privacy and confidentiality, data protection and human rights and so offers of confidentiality may sometimes be overridden by law. For example in circumstances whereby I am concerned over any actual or potential harm to yourself or others I must pass this information to the relevant authorities.

Who is funding and organising the research?

The research is funded by Keele University, Stoke-on-Trent City Council and the Beth Johnson Foundation. The research is being organised by Katie Wright-Bevans under the supervision of Prof Michael Murray and Dr Alexandra Lamont.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you may wish to speak to the researcher(s) who will do their best to answer your questions. You should contact Katie Wright-Bevans on 01782 734402 or k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk. Alternatively, if you do not wish to contact the researcher(s) you may contact Prof Michael Murray on m.murray@keele.ac.uk.

If you remain unhappy about the research and/or wish to raise a complaint about any aspect of the way that you have been approached or treated during the course of the study please write to Nicola Leighton who is the University's contact for complaints regarding research at the following address:-

Nicola Leighton
Research Governance Officer
Research & Enterprise Services
Dorothy Hodgkin Building
Keele University
ST5 5BG
E-mail: n.leighton@uso.keele.ac.uk
Tel: 01782 733306

Appendix N

IASS Research Project -Information Sheet for Facilitators



Information Sheet

Study Title: Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Research Project

Aims of the Research

The aims of the present study are to explore both the benefits of being involved in an intergenerational community project and the processes involved in achieving these.

Invitation

You are being invited to consider taking part in the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Research project. This research project is being undertaken by Katie Wright-Bevans (Postgraduate Researcher in Social and Health Psychology) under the supervision of Professor Michael Murray (Head of School and Professor of Social and Health Psychology) and Dr Alexandra Lamont (Senior Lecturer in Psychology)

Before you decide whether or not you wish to take part, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information carefully and discuss it with friends and relatives if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is unclear or if you would like more information.

Why have I been invited?

You are being invited to take part in this research because you play a role in facilitating the Intergenerational Arts and Story Telling project that this research is exploring. We are hoping to interview all (around 3-6) people who are involved in facilitating this project in some form.

Do I have to take part?

You are free to decide whether you wish to take part or not. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign two consent forms, one is for you to keep and the other is for our records. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time and without giving reasons. You are also free to facilitate the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing without taking part in the research study. This will allow you the same involvement in the project however we will not be able to study your involvement for our research.

What will happen if I take part?

If you decide to take part in this research then you will be invited to take part in two semi-structured interviews anticipated to last around 30 minutes to one hour. One interview will be conducted at some point before the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing project begins and the other after it has been completed. The interviews will be conducted at a time and place convenient to you. During the interviews the lead researcher (Katie Wright-Bevans) will ask you some questions about the Intergenerational arts and story sharing project that you have recently been involved in at [School name]. The questions in the first interview will be about your perceptions and what you anticipate from the project and the questions in the second interview seek to gain insight into your experience of the project and thoughts about intergenerational working. Both interviews will be audio recorded and then transcribed. You are not obligated to take part in both interviews, you may withdraw at any time without reason.

What are the benefits (if any) of taking part?

You will help us to develop a better understanding of the benefits and processes involved in the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Project.

What are the risks (if any) of taking part?

If you consent to participate in this study, it should be drawn to your attention that the researcher has a professional obligation to act upon any aspects of poor practice and/or unprofessional behaviour that may be disclosed during the research activity.

How will information about me be used?

The interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed. During the transcription and analysis all names will be anonymised before any reports are produced and facilitators will instead be assigned a number (e.g. facilitator 1). A thematic analysis will then be conducted, this involves searching for common themes across the interviews. We are therefore more interested in commonalities than individual responses. Reports will then be made for the participating school, Saltbox and the City Council as the research findings may help with the design of future intergenerational work in the city. The research will also form a part of the lead researcher's (Katie Wright-Bevans) PhD thesis. Papers might also be prepared for academic conferences and journals.

Who will have access to information about me?

Recordings and transcripts will be kept securely in a locked filing cabinet and electronic copies will be stored on a password protected file. According to good research practice, we will keep your data for at least 5 years after the conclusion of the study, and when appropriate will be securely destroyed.

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The research is funded by Keele University, Stoke-on-Trent City Council and the Beth Johnson Foundation. The research is being organised by Katie Wright-Bevans under the supervision of Prof Michael Murray and Dr Alexandra Lamont.

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you may wish to speak to the researcher(s) who will do their best to answer your questions. You should contact Katie Wright-Bevans on 01782 734402 or k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk. Alternatively, if you do not wish to contact the researcher(s) you may contact Prof Michael Murray on m.murray@keele.ac.uk.

If you remain unhappy about the research and/or wish to raise a complaint about any aspect of the way that you have been approached or treated during the course of the study please write to Nicola Leighton who is the University's contact for complaints regarding research at the following address:-

Nicola Leighton
Research Governance Officer
Research & Enterprise Services
Dorothy Hodgkin Building
Keele University
ST5 5BG
E-mail: n.leighton@uso.keele.ac.uk
Tel: 01782 733306

Appendix O



CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Research Project

Name and contact details of Principal Investigator: Katie Wright-Bevans, Centre for Psychological Research, Keele University, Keele, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG.
Email: k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk. Phone: 01782 743302.

Please tick box if you agree with the statement

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated
(version no) for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time ☐
3. I agree to take part in this study. ☐
4. I understand that data collected about me during this study will be anonymised before
it is submitted for publication. ☐
5. I understand that although data will be anonymised because of my role it may be possible
that I could be identified in reports and publications. ☐
6. I agree to the focus group being audio recorded ☐
7. I agree to keep the issues discussed within the focus group confidential and in particular,
to avoid identifying any of the participants in relation to these issues/individual comments
made during the session ☐
8. I agree to photographs being taken throughout the course of the project and for my
photograph to be used in any published reports. ☐
8. I agree to be contacted about possible participation in future research project ☐

Name of participant Date Signature

Researcher Date Signature

For Focus Groups/Interviews*

If you consent to participate in this study, it should be drawn to your attention that the researcher has a professional obligation to act upon any aspects of poor practice and/or unprofessional behaviour that may be disclosed during the research activity. Researchers should use the appropriate reporting mechanisms if they have witnessed or experienced poor practice and/or professional behaviour.

Appendix P



**Keele
University**

IASS Research Project – Consent form for Younger Participants

CONSENT FORM (Younger participants)

Title of Project: Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Research Project

Principal Investigator: Katie Wright-Bevans, Keele University.

**Please tick box if you
agree**

1. I have listened to and understood the information read to me by the Principal Investigator (Katie) and have had the opportunity to ask questions. ☐
2. I understand that I have the choice whether or not I take part in this research and I can stop taking part at any time. ☐
3. I agree to take part in this study. ☐
4. I agree to the discussion group being audio (voice) recorded. ☐
5. I agree to keep the issues discussed within the discussion group private to name other people involved and what they have said. ☐
6. I agree to photographs of my creative work being taken throughout the course of the project and for my these to be used in any reports. ☐

NAME OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

SIGNATURE

RESEARCHER

DATE

SIGNATURE



**Keele
University**

IASS Research Project – Consent form for Younger Participants

CONSENT FORM

(for younger participants: use of quotes and creative work)

Title of Project: Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Research Project

Name and contact details of Principal Investigator: Katie Wright-Bevans, Keele University

**Please tick box if you
agree**

- | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------|
| 1. | I agree for my quotes (anything I say on the recordings) to be used | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. | I DO NOT agree for my quotes (anything I say on the recordings) to be used | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. | I agree for any copies of work that I make or help make during the project to be copied and for the copies to be used for research | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. | I agree for any work that I make or help make during the project to be used in any published reports or documents. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

NAME OF PARTICIPANT

DATE

SIGNATURE

RESEARCHER

DATE

SIGNATURE

Appendix Q



CONSENT FORM (for facilitators)

Title of Project: Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Research Project

Name and contact details of Principal Investigator: Katie Wright-Bevans, Centre for Psychological Research, Keele University, Keele, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG.
Email: k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk, Phone: 01782 743302.

**Please tick box if you
agree with the statement**

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated
(version no) for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time ☐
3. I agree to take part in this study. ☐
4. I agree to the interview being audio recorded ☐
5. I agree to be contacted about possible participation in future research project ☐

Name of participant Date Signature

Researcher Date Signature



CONSENT FORM (for use of quotes)

Title of Project: Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Research Project

Name and contact details of Principal Investigator: Katie Wright-Bevans, Centre for Psychological Research, Keele University, Keele, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG.
Email: k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk. Phone: 01782 743302.

**Please tick box if you
agree with the statement**

1. I agree for my quotes to be used
2. I DO NOT agree for my quotes to be used

☐☐

Name of participant

Date

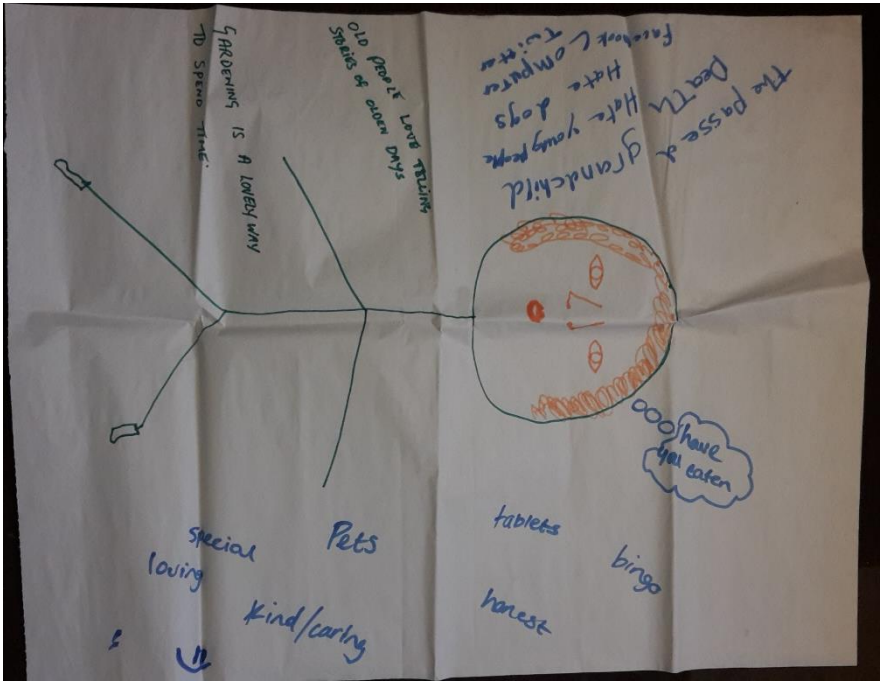
Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix R: Images of older people drawn during the OAYSES project



Appendix S: Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Research Project Topic Guides

Focus group Topic guide

What images come to mind when we think about young people?

What images come to mind when we think about older people?

What do you think it's like to be a young person living in Stoke-on-Trent?

What do you think it's like to be an older person living in Stoke-on-Trent?

What do you think about working with older/younger people?

Additional questions for the second focus groups:

What do you think about working with older/younger people?

Has taking part in the intergenerational project changed anything?

What were the best parts of the project?

What were the most difficult parts?

What would you like to have done differently?

Observations Guide

During or after each session notes will be made about the following:

Physical environment and context - The classroom, seating arrangements, time of day, weather etc...

Enthusiasm and engagement with the sessions – The participants reactions to the different creative activities and general atmosphere among the group throughout the sessions.

Interactions with others – The degree of interaction among all participants with a focus on intergenerational contact and communication.

Facilitator pre-project interview schedule

What do you know about intergenerational practice?

How did you get involved in the current project?

What do you imagine it will be like to facilitate?

How do you imagine the participants will benefit from the project?

What do you imagine will be challenging about the project?

What do you think the project will achieve?

Facilitator post-project interview schedule

What do you know about intergenerational practice?

What thoughts or images come to mind when you think about the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing project and the participants involved?

How did you get involved in this project?

What was this project like to facilitate?

Do you think the participants benefited from taking part?

What were the best parts of the project for you?

What were the most challenging parts of the project?

What do you think the project has achieved?

What would you like to have done differently?

Appendix T



IASS Research Project – Letter to

Parents/Guardians

Dear Parent/Guardian,

Date:

INTERGENERATIONAL ARTS AND STORY SHARING RESEARCH PROJECT

My name is Katie Wright-Bevans and I am a postgraduate researcher in psychology at Keele University investigating the benefits of intergenerational community programmes like the arts and story sharing project due to take place at [School name]. As a part of my PhD research I'll be carrying out some research on this project at the school. I am writing to you to give you and your child more information about the research so that you can decide whether or not you are happy for your child to participate.

If, after reading this information you decide that you are happy for your child to take part in the research then PLEASE COMPLETE THE REPLY SLIP and return it to the school by [date].

If you do not return the completed reply slip, your child will not be invited to participate in the research.

I am interested in finding out more about the benefits of taking part in intergenerational projects. These projects involve older and younger people working on activities together and aim to increase confidence, skills and self-esteem in younger people and build confidence and reduce the social isolation of older people. They also aim to challenge age stereotypes and assumptions. The City Council, local charity Saltbox and Keele University are currently carrying out a series of intergenerational projects like this across a range of schools in Stoke-on-Trent called the OAYSES project (Old And Young Sharing Each others Stories). Your child's school is taking part in the OAYSES project and I am interested in finding out the particular benefits of this project for the older and younger people involved as well as their thoughts on intergenerational working.

The older people visiting the school to take part in the project will be recruited by Saltbox – a local community organisation who runs a befriending service for people aged 55 years and over. The children and older volunteers will meet weekly for six to eight weeks for one to two hour sessions and carry out supervised creative activities and story sharing around the theme 'life in Stoke-on-Trent'. This project will be co-ordinated with the school's Humanities (English & History) department and the children involved will attend the OAYSES project sessions in place of usual humanities lessons.

My role in this project will be to carry out some research alongside these activities. This research will include a discussion group with the children and older volunteers separately, both at the beginning and end of the project as a whole. In these groups we will discuss age

Version: 2

Date: 08/09/2014

Parents/Guardians

stereotypes and what we think it is like/might be like to live as a younger/older person in Stoke-on-Trent. I will also be observing the weekly intergenerational sessions and making some notes on how the project is going and how the participants are finding working together. With your child's permission, I'll also be taking photocopies/photographs of the children's creative work (drawings, poems, stories, photographs etc...) in order to include these in the research and still allowing the school to keep original copies. Children's faces will NOT be photographed for purposes of anonymity. Finally I'll be interviewing the staff involved to ask about their experiences of the project. Each weekly session will be carried out in a classroom with at least one teacher, one Saltbox staff member and myself present. In all research activities, the children's (and older volunteers) responses are treated with complete confidentiality.

There will be an introductory session before the project begins where children are formally invited to participate and given the opportunity to ask any questions they may have. At this point any child is able to opt out should they not wish to take part. All children will be reminded that it is their choice to take part in any of the activities and that they don't have to if they don't want to (alternate work will be arranged or the child can join their usual class lesson). After all the research data has been collected and before any reports are produced, all children's names will be removed in order for them to remain anonymous. Any data collected from the research (children's discussion group responses, photographed artwork, observational notes) will be anonymised in order that a child is not identifiable and then reports will be prepared for the school, City Council and other interested parties. Publications will also be prepared for academic conferences and journals. All of the above may include anonymised quotes or depict artwork that your child was involved in.

All data will be stored on a password protected computer and in a locked filing cabinet at Keele University where it will be held for at least five years before being safely destroyed.

We hope that the project will be an exciting and beneficial experience for your child but should they have any concerns, a teacher will be involved in all weekly sessions. We will also encourage the children to ask questions and discuss the project at home.

If you have any questions or would like to discuss any aspect of the research please contact me (Katie Wright-Bevans, Lead Researcher) either at k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk or on 01782 734402. I would be very happy to discuss this research with you further. The research project supervisor Prof Michael Murray (Head of School of Psychology) can also be contacted by email at m.murray@keele.ac.uk. If you remain unhappy about the research and/or wish to raise a complaint about any aspect of the way that you have been approached or treated during the course of the study please contact Nicola Leighton, Research Governance Officer, Research & Enterprise Services, Dorothy Hodgkin Building, Keele University. ST5 5BG, Tel: 01782 733306.

Version: 2

Date: 08/09/2014

Parents/Guardians

If after reading this information and discussing it with your child you **WOULD like to give them the opportunity to be invited to take** part, please complete the reply slip below and return it to the school by [date].

Yours faithfully,

Katie Wright-Bevans

Research on the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing project: return to the class teacher by [date].

I give permission for (child's name) _____ to take part.

Child's year group: _____ Child's Class: _____

PRINT NAME: _____

SIGNED: _____

DATE: _____

Version: 2
Date: 08/09/2014

Appendix U



IASS Research Project – Invitation to Older Participants

Appendix U

Invitation to participate in the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Research Project

Dear [name],

I am a postgraduate researcher in psychology at Keele University investigating the benefits of intergenerational community programmes like the arts and story sharing project due to take place at [School name]. As a part of my PhD research I'll be carrying out some research on this project at the school.

This intergenerational project involves older (over 55's) and younger (7-15 years) people working together and sharing experiences. This project aims to increase opportunities, confidence, skills, self-esteem and social inclusion in both younger and older people. It also aims to challenge age stereotypes and stigma. The City Council is currently looking to carry out this project across a range of schools in Stoke-on-Trent. I am interested in finding out the particular benefits of this intergenerational project for the older and younger people involved as well as your thoughts on intergenerational working.

My role in this project will be to carry out some research alongside these activities. This research will include a relaxed discussion group with refreshments both at the beginning and end of the project as a whole. There will be one discussion group for the older participants and one for the younger participants. In these groups we will discuss age stereotypes and what it is like to live as an older person in Stoke-on-Trent. I will also be observing the weekly creative sessions and making some notes on how the project is going and how you are finding working with each other and the children. With your permission, I'll also be taking photocopies/photographs of any creative work you create (drawings, poems, stories, photographs etc...) in order to include these in the research without having to take the originals.

I hope you find this intergenerational project to be an exciting opportunity and if you are happy to take part in this research or would like more information please contact me using the details below. If you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact me for more information.

Yours sincerely,

Katie Wright-Bevans, Postgraduate researcher in health and social psychology, Centre for Psychological Research, Keele University, Keele, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG.

Email: k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk

Phone: 01782 734402

Version: 2

Date: 08/09/2014

Appendix V



IASS Research Project – Invitation for Children

Appendix V

INTERGENERATIONAL ARTS AND STORY SHARING RESEARCH PROJECT

-Formal invitation to school children

Note: The script below is a formal invitation for school children to participate in the research to be read aloud to the children as a group. Four to six children who have parental consent and have expressed an interest in participating in the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Project will be shown to a separate classroom/space where the lead researcher and one other member of staff will be present. The lead researcher will then read aloud the following invitation and answer any questions that the children have. The children will then be guided verbally through the consent form and asked to sign if they are happy to take part. Any children who are not happy to take part will be escorted back to their classroom and the consenting children will remain with the lead researcher and staff member where the first discussion group will begin.

Script

“Hello everyone. My name is Katie and I’m a researcher at Keele University. I’m here today to tell you about the research I want to carry out on the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Project that your school is taking part in. In order to carry out this research I need to make sure that you understand what activities I want to do and how you will be involved. After I’ve explained these activities to you I will ask if you have any questions and if you would like to take part.

The Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Project will involve you working on creative activities with other young people in your school and with some older people from the local area who have volunteered to take part as well. The idea of the project is to get older and younger people together to share stories about themselves and create something together because there isn’t always many opportunities for younger people and older people to work together like this.

My job is to research this project. This means that I will be carrying out some extra activities and recording some information about you and the project. If you are happy to take part then the first thing that will happen is I will involve you all in a discussion where I will ask the group a few questions and will use a voice recorder to record this discussion. These questions will be about life in Stoke-on-Trent as a younger person, the things you like about this and the things you don’t. I’ll also ask some questions about older people and what you think it might be like to live in Stoke-on-Trent as an older person. The recording of the discussion won’t be given to your parents or teachers; it will be shared only with our small team involved in the project. The recording will be copied into text form and all of your names or mention of any family member’s names will be removed so that we won’t know who has said what. This is important to us because we want you to feel comfortable in the discussion group. Another similar discussion group will take place again at the end of the Intergenerational Project and that we be treated exactly the same.

The other research activities that I want to do involve making some notes during the project sessions. I’ll be making notes about how the sessions are going and what is happening. Just like with the discussion groups, I won’t share your names or any information about your involvement with any of your teachers or parents, this information is just for the research team to understand more about what is working and what isn’t working.

The final thing I want to do is make copies of any creative work that you produce so that I can study this in more detail and by taking photographs it means that the school is still able to keep the original work that you and the older volunteers have made together. I will only take photographs of

Version: 1

Date: 08/09/2014

your work with your permission. I will also take some photographs of the sessions as you are working but not of your faces and again, only with your permission.

After the project is over, I will keep all of this information locked away at Keele University and I will use it to write reports for your school and for the university and for other places to. Please remember that your names won't be in these reports and any photographs that are included will be photographs of your work that have been taken with your permission and not photographs of your faces. If you do decide to take part you will be helping us to find out more about intergenerational projects like this one. If you decide that you don't want to take part that is completely fine, the choice to take part is completely up to you.

Please think carefully about whether or not you would like to take part in the research.

Does everybody understand everything that I have explained?

Does anybody have any questions?"

Appendix W



IASS Research Project – Invitation to Facilitators

Invitation to facilitators to participate in the Intergenerational Arts and Story Sharing Research Project

Dear [name],

I am a postgraduate researcher in psychology at Keele University investigating the benefits of intergenerational community programmes like the arts and story sharing project due to take place at [School name]. As a part of my PhD research I'll be carrying out some research on this project at the school. I am interested in finding out the particular benefits of this intergenerational project for the older and younger people involved as well as your thoughts on intergenerational working.

My role in this project will be to carry out some research alongside the intergenerational arts and story sharing activities. This will include some activities with the project participants and also interviews with any staff and facilitators involved in the project. I would like to invite you to take part in an interview about your experiences of the project and your thoughts on intergenerational working.

If you are interested in taking part please contact me using the details below. If you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact me for more information.

Yours sincerely,

Katie Wright-Bevans, Postgraduate researcher in health and social psychology, Centre for Psychological Research, Keele University, Keele, Staffordshire, ST5 5BG.

Email: k.wright-bevans@keele.ac.uk

Phone: 01782 734402

Version: 2
Date: 08/09/2014

Appendix X: Codebook – Study 1

Final condensed codebook

Theme	Code
Government control	IP should be managed by facilitators
	Strategy should inform IP development
	IP can correct problem behaviour
	IP can change individuals attitudes towards others
	IP can improve general behaviour
	IP can create good citizens
	IP should be used to achieve an organisations goals
	IP can make individuals more self-sufficient
	The goals of IP should be decided by the community
Community Empowerment	Community members should decide the types of IP
	Facilitators should act as a resource for the community
	Facilitators should side with the needs and values of the community
	IP can help communities to achieve collective goals
	IP can help communities identify common interests
	IP can help build resilience in a community through shared knowledge
	IP can help the wider community to thrive
	IP is for older people
Inequality & Segregation	IP promotes caring for older people
	IP is a tool within older people's policy and agenda
	Older people are vulnerable and in need of IP for support
	IP provides a service for older people
	Younger people are an underutilised resource
	Younger people need skills
	IP document makes few references to younger people
	IP brings younger and older people together
	IP promotes mutual understanding
Equality & Inclusion	IP allows generations to learn from one another
	Older/younger people experience similar kinds of social exclusion
	Older/younger people need equal amounts of support

	Older/younger people are often unheard
	People of all ages thrive from learning new skills
	All ages need equal opportunities to contribute to their community
	Community spaces should be valued
Hard outcomes	IP must include surveys
	IP should demonstrate tangible outcomes
	IP has to have a clear measurable benefit
	IP needs a clear list of concrete objectives
	IP will not be funded without evidence of measurable outcomes
	IP could reduce truancy
	IP could reduce the number of GP and health appointments
	Facilitators should measure behaviour changes
	IP needs evidence of outcomes
	Need to think about outcomes that are not as easy to measure
Soft aims	IP should aim to change attitudes
	IP should aim to change understanding
	IP should enhance wellbeing
	IP should give participants a stronger sense of community
	IP should empower
	IP should inspire and motivate
	IP should increase confidence
	IP should boost self-esteem
	IP aims to benefit and strengthen communities
	IP should benefit and strengthen society
	"Breaking down barriers"
	"Bridging the gap"

Appendix Y: Codebook - Study 2

Parent Node Name	Name	Description
	Community empowerment	Apriori code:
	Equality & Inclusion	
	Government control	
	Inequality & segregation	
	Issues for younger	
	Nature of community work	
	Nature of IP	Apriori code: relating to the nature of intergenerational
	Needs of Older communities	
	Role of Facilitator	Apriori code: description of the role played by
	The aims of IP	
	The outcomes of IP	
Nodes\\Community empowerment	Community led	
	Creating something for the community	Creating something long lasting or wide reaching that the wider community can enjoy eg a piece of
	Driven by community issues	
	facilitating ownership	
	Shaped around the	
	Using peers as 'champions'	Peers or those who has used the service in the past are
	Utilising existing skills in the	used to champion or promote the service to other
Nodes\\Equality & Inclusion	IP is older and younger	
	Lots of intergenerational	

Nodes\\Government control Challenges to IP Challenges associated with setting up IP or associated

Reports\\Codebook summary

Page 1 of 10

Parent Node Name	Name	Description
Nodes\\Government control	Connecting with higher	
	Dislike of formal aims and	
	Driven by health agendas	
	Encouraging citizenship	Encouraging participants to be responsible active and
	Filling a service gap	
	Reducing dependance on	
	Structured activites	The organisation or course has a detailed pre-existing
	Targeted recruitment	Service activiely seeks out and contacts participants
Nodes\\Government	Top-down service design	rather than being approached by potential participants The project or service design is led by a higher
	Gaining access	
	Logistics and organising	
Nodes\\Government control\\Top-	Risk assessments	eg CRBs and DBS checks
	IP as government agenda	IP as a tool to create idea citizens and put in place as a
Nodes\\Government control\\Top-	IP is about opportunities for	IP is about providing opportunities
	Means of cutting services	IP as a means of getting community services covered
Nodes\\Government control\\Top-	Reactive rather than active	IP only of value when solving an existing problem

Nodes\\Inequality & segregation

- age segregated spaces
- IP is about older people
- IP is younger learning from

Nodes\\Inequality & segregation\age age segregation within

Reports\\Codebook summary

Page 2 of 10

Parent Node Name	Name	Description
Nodes\\Inequality & segregation\IP is about older people	Caring for vulnerable older people	IP is more of a one way process, younger people doing things for older people rather than a two way process.
Nodes\\Issues for younger	YP Confidence & self-	community projects aimed at increasing the confidence
	YP Diverse needs	
	YP Gaining Employment	services or projects that promote or help individuals to
	YP Gaining work relavent	
	YP lack of aspiration	
	YP Lack of gardening skills	Potentially difficult or life changing transitions
	YP Life transitions	
	YP Social inclusion	
Nodes\\Nature of community work	CW about daily motivation	
	CW about finding common	
	CW about vulnerable people	

CW Age not discussed	Age and/or IP not a disussion topic among staff
CW Challenges	
CW community isses are	Variety in the degree of predictability
CW Doesn't have to cost	
CW engagemnent in	
CW hard to evidence	
CW informed by research	
CW involving the	
CW is about engaging older	
CW is about long-term socialoutcomes of community work are intended to be long-	
outcomes	term or not necessarily have tangible or immediate
CW is about peer support	
CW is age specific but	Targetted at a specific age group bu attempts to include
inclusive	otherwise marginalised groups within that age group
CW is broadening insights	

Parent Node Name	Name	Description
Nodes\\Nature of community work	CW is driven by local	
	CW is Inclusive	
	CW is person-centered	
	CW is unstructured	Don't know who is attending and when or who is not
	CW means building	
	CW means giving	Projects might be relatively structured or pre-
	participants choice	determined but within that structure participant choice
	CW men need less ongoing	
	CW needs to be non-	
	CW Negotiation bewteen	
	CW Projects can build slowly	
	CW projects end when	
	CW projects need risk	

CW reduces inequalities Aims to reduce all types of inequalities, individual and

CW requires diverse

CW requires partnerships

CW requires the building of

CW should be sustainable projects should be or are sustainable. Highlighting the

CW should measure hard

CW Soft outcomes difficult

CW technology for health

CW Utilises existing skills in

IP should encourage

mutual benefits

Paperwork makes ppants

Providing safe shared

Recruitment depends on

recruitment through ground

Segregated spaces more

Self motivated vs

Parent Node Name	Name	Description
Nodes\\Nature of community	Age equality not discussed	
Nodes\\Nature of community	CW Need large numbers to	
	Funding	
	Lack of assets	
	OP mobility	

participant involvement

YP cost of travel

Nodes\\Nature of community

CW Importance of

CW means facilitating

identifying strong leaders and helping them to build

CW requires a balance of

required in order for projects to last long term and for

skills and experience

there not to be too few or too many new people

Nodes\\Nature of IP

A whole raft of activities

Adds diversity to OP

an attractive approach

Big and small successes

success depends on what you want to explore or

Community-led

A project or element of a project or service led by the

IG Barriers

reference to barriers between generations or age

IG Contact

Focused on or centred around level of contact or lack of

IP aids learning

IP as an avenue to more

IP as mutual benefit

IP can be short lived but

projects shouldn't or don't necessarily go on for ever,

meaningful
IP is exploring perceptions &

the offer a short lived but meaningful experience to

IP is Oral history

IP is or should be about oral history and keeping culture

Reports\\Codebook summary

Page 5 of 10

Parent Node Name

Name

Description

Nodes\\Nature of IP

IP is producing outputs from

IP is short-lived and

IP more rewarding than

IP needs a structured

IP needs safety measures in

IP needs to fit with broader

IP requires strong

IP requires willingness all all participants have to be willing to make it work and

IP should be self-sustaining

IP should start with

IP won't interest everybody With all community work you can recruit everybody in

Lack of formal knowledge a community, some won't be interested
Confusion or a lack of knowledge about IP

Lack of nstitutions for youth

risky because older people

School curriculum too tight

Schools receptive to IP

The term 'intergenerational' Confusion or dislike over the term IP

Nodes\\Nature of IP\\Community-led	Inspired by one key	One passionate or confident individual inspires and
	community figure IP as organic	empowers others to believe that that can achieve the rather than structured or as part of a pre-existing or
Nodes\\Nature of IP\\IG Barriers	Barriers arise from fear	
	Barriers due to broken	
	Broken through finding	
	Broken through informality	
	Due to negative	
	Imaginary barriers	skepticism of intergenerational barriers
	Living in different times	Different generations have different values

Parent Node Name	Name	Description
Nodes\\Nature of IP\\IG Barriers	Lost connections due to	history, family and community connections lost due to
	Put up by government	
	Put up by the media	
Nodes\\Nature of IP\\IG Contact	best if informal	
	Only route to a proper in-	remote contact is insufficient to building and
	Positive change occurs	
	Tactility	sharing physical things together such as photo albums rather than sharing through digital media
Nodes\\Nature of IP\\IP is Oral history	IP is sharing personal stories	
Nodes\\Nature of IP\\IP needs safety	OM don't want CRB checks	
Nodes\\Nature of IP\\Lack of formal	IP is about family	grandparents and grandchildren
	IP is just Common sense	
	IP is just community	IP just a part of community development work
Nodes\\Nature of IP\\The term	Term IP has diverse	Meaning varies over place, culture and agenda
	Term IP is a convenient tag	
	Term IP is a red herring	
	Term IP is about community	Community at the heart of intergenerational or
	Term IP is not IP but just	

Term IP is restrictive

Nodes\\Needs of Older communities building resilience

Reports\\Codebook summary

Page 7 of 10

Parent Node Name	Name	Description
Nodes\\Needs of Older communities	Confidence building	
	Difficulties negotiating	
	Lack of IT skills are a barrier	
	Older men allotments are a	
	OM need practical and	
	OP lonely and isolated	
	OP need low level care	
Nodes\\Needs of Older	befriending reduces this	
Nodes\\Role of Facilitator	Be patient and let projects	
	Encourage dependances	
	Encourage personal growth	
	Encouraging community	building community awareness and knowledge
	Facilitating equal	
	facilitating ownership	
	Facilitator as governor &	
	Facilitator as mediator	
	Facilitator as passionate	
	Facilitator raising awareness	
	Finding willing partners and	

Handle the paperwork

No time for IP alongside despite a great motivation to undertake projects

Offering diverse experiences Highlighting the value of providing a range of taster

Projects shaped by The nature of the projects are very much dependent on

facilitators skills the skills and interests of the facilitators

Recruitment through face to

Requires committed leaders

Requires listening to and

Requires the building of

Reports\\Codebook summary

Page 8 of 10

Parent Node Name	Name	Description
Nodes\\Role of Facilitator	Resisting pressure from top-	
Nodes\\The aims of IP	Both groups sharing and	IP is about sharing experiences and both groups
	Breaking down barriers	reference to the term or similar phrase in reference to
	building mutual respect	
	Contact with the other	The actual term contact but also togetherness, sharing
	generation	experiences and time and similar phrases that centre
	Digital inclusion	
	finding common interests	across participants and participant groups
	IP is about a sense of	
	Older supporting younger	
	provide learning opps for	
	reducing stereotypes	reducing stereotypes, prejudices or negative perceptions
	Reveal the person behind	
	sharing yourself	
	Shouldn't be rigid and	
	Soft aims	
	Younger learning from older	

Younger teaching older

Nodes\\The aims of IP\\finding revealing similarities

Nodes\\The aims of IP\\Older Being a substitute parent
Easing life transitions

Nodes\\The aims of IP\\Soft aims Barriers reference to barriers between generations or age

Reports\\Codebook summary

Page 9 of 10

Parent Node Name	Name	Description
Nodes\\The aims of IP\\Soft	Barriers arise from fear	
	Imaginary barriers	skepticism of intergenerational barriers
	Living in different times	Different generations have different values
	Put up by government	
	Put up by the media	
Nodes\\The outcomes of IP	Evaluating knowledge	
	IP outcomes solely skills	
	IP should produce lasting	
	IP using tech to reduce	
	meaningful relationships	
	mutual respect	

Outcome of IP is YP

Performance

Personal growth

Physical outcomes less than social personal outcomes

sharing differences

Skills and stories valued

Stereotypes are challenged

Wider community benefits Benefits to the community outside of those who

Appendix Z: Codebook – Study 3

Theme	Code
Friendship as an outcome	Enjoyment from meeting people
	Learning about others
	Having fun with others
	Talking and sharing
	Making new friends
	Swapping contact details with participants
	Spending time together after the formal session has finished
	Making refreshments for others
	Sharing personal and private information with others
	Respecting others personal information
Community as an outcome	Romanticising the past
	Sharing ideas about how things used to be
	Sharing ideas about how to improve the community
	Sharing community values with others
	A shared view of how communities should be
Inclusive spaces	Removing logistical barriers to older people's participation
	Identifying appropriate transport
	Identifying appropriate community spaces
	Encouraging informality
	Preparing spaces for natural conversation
	Food as an engagement tool
	Planning inclusive activities
Older/younger as vulnerable	Older people are not respected
	Older people are scared
	Older people are intimidated in public spaces
	Older people are lonely
	Older people are a burden
	Older people get in the way
	Older people need company
	Older people are invisible
	Understanding older as other
	Sympathy for older people
	Young people are in gangs
	Young people ruin the environment
	Young people are susceptible to crime
	Children are naughty

	Young people are naïve
	Young people have it easy
Participants as active	Older participants are fun
	Older participants are busy
	Older participants are energetic
	Older participants have many skills
	Older participants care
	Older participants are sociable
	Older participants are resilient and cope
	Younger participants are well-behaved
	Younger participants are hard working
	Younger participants are lovely people
	Younger participants are ambitious
	Younger participants cope with stress
	Younger participants are good company
Facilitator as mediator	Balancing structured and unstructured sessions
	Balancing formality and informality
	Making great efforts to get the participants to the project spaces while looking outwardly calm
	Trying to ensure all stakeholders benefit
	Trying to ensure the greatest enjoyment for the greatest number of people
	Intervening only when necessary
	Fostering organic relationships